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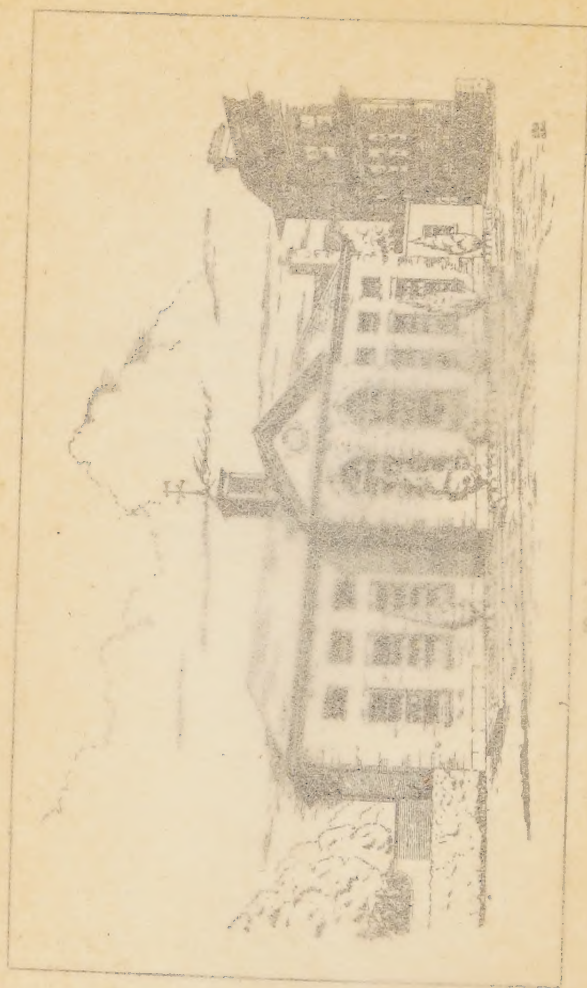
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THE STORY *of a* NONCONFORMIST LIBRARY

By

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To GEORGE THOMAS, ESQ., J.P
IRLAM HALL

A Book-lover and a Patron
of the Library

P R E F A C E

THERE is a distinction, familiar to grammarians, between the objective and the subjective genitive. Thus, when the Apostle writes "the love of Christ constraineth us" (2 Cor. v. 14) he may be understood to mean that the constraining force is his love for Christ or Christ's love for him. Similarly, "The Story of a Nonconformist Library" suggests primarily its history, and less probably that the Library, meaning the books contained in it, tell their own tale. The first essay, which gives the title to volume, illustrates both interpretations, giving first a brief history of the Library as an institution, and then some stories—personal, historical, and bibliographical—which its volumes on inquisition relate. Since the Library referred to has recently been removed to a new and spacious building, it seemed opportune to place on record the tale of its past, and thus acknowledge the benefactors, living and dead, who have contributed to form the collection.

Of the essays that follow, all except the last are the result of research, based largely on the books and MSS. in the Library, and even the exception is not entirely independent of them. Together they constitute a series of small—but not unimportant nor unrelated—chapters in the history of Nonconformity in England. Two of them, and a portion of a third, have already appeared in the *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*.

MANCHESTER

May 1923

H. McLACHLAN

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THE STORY OF A NONCONFORMIST LIBRARY

I. *The Institution*

THE history of the Unitarian Home Missionary College Library has in it little of romance. Like the College itself, it had a humble origin, and its story is largely a record of benefactions from private individuals and from chapel libraries, varied by purchases out of grants provided by the College and other funds. That Unitarians, early and late, have been book-lovers, and that their old chapels in former days gathered valuable collections, is manifest from the number and character of these donations.

Unfortunately, until the present year (1922) the Library has never enjoyed the slightest endowment. Consequently, this most useful branch of education in a theological college has occasionally suffered neglect, and its claims for support been subordinated to other and more pressing needs.

It is not necessary to mention all the donations of books to the Library, but a few of the earlier and the more interesting and valuable deserve to be recorded. The nucleus of a Library was formed in the Marsden Street rooms, in which the institution first found a home (1854), by a grant from the funds raised by subscribers and by the gifts of a number of friends.

The principal was requested to act as curator of the Library and empowered to appoint a student as his assistant with a salary of two guineas a year. In 1858 a gift of books and manuscripts was acknowledged from the library of the late Rev. J. G. Robberds (1789-1854), for over forty years minister of Cross Street Chapel, professor of Hebrew and Syriac, Manchester New College, 1840-5, and of Pastoral Theology 1840-52. James Heywood, Esq.,

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M.P., the second president of the institution, who laid the foundations of the Owens College Library with a gift of 1,200 books in 1861, three years earlier presented the Library with 240 volumes and with many others two years later. The name of John Colston, whose portrait hangs in the Library, first appears as a patron in the same year. He was an old student of Manchester New College, York, and minister of Styal 1833-63, commencing with a tutorship in the family of Robert Hyde Greg. To him it is due that the old chapel at Dean Row was restored and its services renewed in 1848. Mr. Colston was a man of considerable scholarship and a most generous benefactor of the Library, to which, at his death in 1878, he bequeathed an extensive collection, including valuable editions of the New Testament, folio and quarto, and many rare theological books. Cross Street Chapel Library was the first of many such libraries to increase the collection of the College, adding 34 volumes in 1858 and 223 volumes in the following year. In 1861 the institution had amassed such wealth that it was deemed prudent to insure its property, and a policy was taken out for £100 ! An interesting testimony to the good feeling between the *alumni* of two kindred institutions was the presentation to the Library, recently removed to the Memorial Hall, of the facsimile of the *Codex Sinaiticus*, then lately published, by some of the old students of Manchester New College. The following year Miss Yates, of Liverpool, presented three hundred volumes from the library of her father, the Rev. John Yates. Mr. Henry A. Bright, M.A., afterwards president of the College, gave to the Library in the same year two bound volumes of the MS. Letters of Theophilus Lindsey, addressed, for the most part, to William Tayleur, of Shrewsbury, a friend and patron of Priestley. These contributed to the making of the volume *Letters of Theophilus Lindsey*, published by the writer in

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1920. Whilst engaged upon these Letters a bound volume of the replies to them by Tayleur was discovered in a Birmingham bookseller's shop and purchased by the Library. Amongst numerous volumes presented in 1867 by the Rev. R. L. Carpenter was a fine collection of eighteenth-century tracts and pamphlets, originally in the possession of Dr. Lant Carpenter, and the folio volumes of the Library of the Polish Brethren.

In 1870 the Library was reorganized, a catalogue was prepared by Mr. John Chadwick, and Mr. T. P. Jones, of the Memorial Hall, was appointed librarian at a salary of £5 a year. Permission to use the Library was now granted to former students, and to members of the local Lay Preachers' Association. In 1872 some photographic copies of ancient manuscripts of the Scriptures, with annotations by Dr. Greenwood, the second principal of Owens College, were presented anonymously to the Library through the Rev. Brooke Herford. From 1872 the minutes of the Library Committee have been preserved. The first chairman was Dr. Marcus, and the first secretary the Rev. T. E. Poynting. Twenty pounds was voted to the Library by the Committee of the College in 1873, and ten pounds in the following year. Other similarly small sums were voted later at intervals. The Librarian, in his report for 1873, mentioned by name the students who had made use of the Library, and those, three in number, who had made no use of it at all. He also observed that no book with an old cover had a chance of being read. In 1874 the Library Committee purchased at a nominal sum from Manchester New College a large number of duplicate copies of theological, philosophical, and biographical works. These included many scarce works, some of which had been originally in the Library of the Academy at Exeter. In 1875 a special grant of £10 was voted by the College for the purpose of drawing up a

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complete manuscript catalogue of the Library. The work was entrusted to the capable hands of Mr. (afterwards Dr.) W. E. A. Axon, the well-known antiquarian and man of letters. It was completed in the course of twelve months. Amongst the gifts to the Library during this period were a hundred volumes from the library of Dr. Beard, the late principal, and many volumes from that of the late Rev. Henry Green, M.A., formerly visitor of the College.

In 1878 it was reported by the Library Committee that more than 800 volumes had been added since the MS. catalogue had been made, two years earlier. In 1879 reports of the British Association for 1855-68 were presented by the Rev. A. W. Worthington, Mr. H. Leigh added a few, and Mr. G. W. Rayner Wood brought the set up to date and has continued to present each report as it has appeared down to the present time. In the same year a number of valuable books, folio and quarto, including Rutt's edition of Priestley's works, were presented by the Rev. G. H. Wells, M.A., of Gorton.

In 1881 the Committee expressed their sincere thanks to Richard C. Christie, chancellor of the diocese, formerly professor at Owens College and afterwards donor of the University Library which bears his name, for his donation of valuable theological books and pamphlets, including works used by him in the preparation of his life of *Etienne Dolet, the Martyr of the Renaissance*, published in 1880. These included the *Interpretationes Paradoxae Quatuor Evangelorum*, by Christopher Sandius (1670), described by the donor as "a learned book and not easily met with."

The task of cataloguing the Library, with the help of the manuscript slips prepared by Mr. Axon, was finally undertaken by the Revs. James Black and J. Edwin Odgers, tutors of the Board (now College). It was finished in 1882, and printed together with new by-laws which had been drawn up. At this time the Library

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numbered 3,621 volumes, exclusive of unbound sermons and pamphlets. Amongst the donors in 1883 were Miss Wallace, from the library of her father, the late Revs Robert Wallace (1791-1850), professor of Critical Theology at Manchester New College 1840-46, the late Rev. John Porter, and Mr. John Fretwell. The last-named, a zealous promoter of international relations between the Unitarians of England, America, Hungary, and the Liberals of Germany, presented several rare seventeenth-century works purchased by him in Germany.

In 1885 over fifty volumes were given to the Library by the family of the late Rev. W. C. Squier, including a handsome edition of the works of Lardner, which he had won whilst a student of the institution (1855-7). The Rev. J. Estlin Carpenter also presented 70 volumes, including a set of the old Unitarian Tracts.

In 1888, in consequence of the retirement of Mr. T. P. Jones, through ill-health, from the office of keeper of the Memorial Hall, he resigned his office of librarian, which he had held since 1870. The principal, the Rev J. E. Odgers, M.A., was appointed. An almost complete set of the two series of the publications of the Chetham Society were presented this year by Mr. Samuel Fielden, of Todmorden, "on a promise to continue the subscription after Mr. Fielden's death," a condition in which the Committee at once acquiesced but did not fulfil until 1917, when their attention was drawn to the condition by Professor James Tait, the president of the Society.

In 1888 a number of books were also added from the Hope Street Chapel Library, and from the library of the late Rev. Richard Pilcher.

In 1890 the Rev. Alexander Gordon, M.A., the new principal of the College, was appointed Librarian. Mr. Gordon examined and reported on the library, observing that it was more valuable than he had expected to find it.

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Its value was quickly increased by the bequest of a collection of books by Mr. Henry James Morehouse, F.S.A., of Lydgate, near Huddersfield. The family of Morehouse was one of the oldest in the district, the name appearing as far back as the reign of Richard II., and from the time of Elizabeth their property had descended in unbroken succession from father to son. Mr. Morehouse was one of the founders of the Yorkshire Archæological Association, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and the author of the *History of Kirkburton, and of the Graveship of Holme*. He had an accurate knowledge of the old Presbyterian congregations, and through his ancestors was connected with the leaders of Yorkshire Nonconformity of two hundred years ago. The collection of books which came into the College Library included many scarce theological works of the seventeenth century that had formerly belonged, as their inscriptions show, to the ancestors of Mr. Morehouse. Many interesting notes, biographical and bibliographical, are written on the fly-leaves of these books by their late owner. Some of these will be discussed later.

A sum of £34 voted by the Trustees of the Gaskell Scholarship added more modern books to the Library. In 1896 a number of books were presented by Mr. J. J. Bradshaw, of Bolton, in memory of his father, the late John Bradshaw (1797-1858), and the following year 63 volumes were added from the library of Bank Street Chapel, Bolton, with which he had been long connected. Amongst regular benefactors of the Library for many years have been Professor Courtney Kenney, of Cambridge, and the Hibbert Trustees. In 1897 a considerable number of books were received from the library of the late Rev W. Mitchell, an old student of the College, including bound pamphlets and some 50 volumes of articles from various quarterly magazines, arranged according

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to subject. In 1900 the Library was enriched by a handsome donation of philosophical and theological works from the library of the late Dr. Martineau. Sir Edwin Durning Lawrence, Bart., president of the College 1910-13, ever a staunch friend of the institution, presented the Library in 1904 with the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, a little later with a Macklin Bible, in six folio volumes, and the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. In 1910 he presented three precious volumes of the works of Servetus, on the condition that should the College be discontinued or amalgamated they are to be transferred to the University of Edinburgh.

With the establishment of the Theological Faculty at the Manchester University many of the students began to read for the divinity degree, and a large number of text-books in all the subjects taken were purchased for the Library. From 1904 to 1910 the meetings of the Library Committee were suspended, all the energies of the staff and committee being expended in raising the Jubilee Fund and establishing the College in its new Hall of Residence at Summerville, Victoria Park, into which the Library was removed during the summer of 1904. Through the efforts of the Rev. John Moore, an album containing the portraits of the students of the College from 1854 to 1904 was presented to the Library. Amongst other gifts at this date was a set of the *Delphin Classics* from the late Rev. John Dale.

In accordance with the will and codicil of the late Rev. William Blazeby, B.A., of Rotherham, his library, consisting of over two thousand volumes and manuscripts, was bequeathed to the College in 1908, conditionally upon the books being placed in a suitable room, or in a separate compartment of a room, to be designated "The Blazeby Collection." The gift was accompanied by a legacy of £200. The collection is rich in history

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and biography, especially of the Stuart and Cromwellian periods.

In 1909 the Rev. R. B. Drummond, B.A., of Edinburgh, author of the *Life of Erasmus* (1873), presented to the Library his complete set of the works of Erasmus, eleven volumes, folio, and at his death twelve years later forty-four more volumes were received from his library.

In 1910 Mr. Gordon began to catalogue the Blazeby Collection on the sheaf system, but had made little progress when he resigned the principalship in 1911. In that year the present writer was appointed honorary librarian. His proposal to clean, classify, and catalogue the Library on the card system was approved by the Library Committee. The cataloguing of the Blazeby Collection on the sheaf system was completed, and then the entire Library was catalogued in duplicate (author and subject) on the card system, the shelves being numbered and lettered. This work, begun and finished in 1912, enlisted the sympathy and active co-operation of several of the students.

Upon a petition being directed to the Gaskell Scholarship Trustees, requesting their assistance, a grant of £150 was made from their surplus funds—£100 for new books, and the balance for repairs and renovation. At the same time they increased their annual grant to £10.

Since 1912 donations of books to the Library have been so numerous as to make impossible the mention of any but the most considerable. In the year named, sixty-five volumes, including several folios, were given by the late Rev. Charles Hargrove, M.A., Litt.D., at whose death, in 1917, fifty-three more came from the same collection. In 1913 the Library Committee lost by death the services of the honorary secretary, the Rev. George Evans, M.A., formerly Hibbert Fellow. In his memory his daughter presented to the Library 220 volumes, amongst them many valuable Semitic works. During recent years the Chapel

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libraries which have donated books to the Library are the following : Dean Row ; Hackney ; Oldham ; Hope Street, Liverpool ; Bank Street, Bolton ; Strangeways and Upper Brook Street, Manchester. The British and Foreign Unitarian Association and the Dr. Williams Library have also made useful grants. In 1913 Mr. P. J. Winser presented the Library with a marble bust of the Rev. William Gaskell, M.A., the second principal of the College, together with a chalk study of him by W. Percy and a number of books purchased at the sale of the Gaskell effects consequent upon the death of Miss Gaskell. Mr. Winser continued his patronage until his death in 1916, when his widow presented 233 valuable books to the Library from his collection.

The volumes and bound pamphlets in the Library numbered, in 1914, 8,800, including about 250 sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pamphlets and sermons, some of them extremely rare, besides many folios and quartos from the same period.

George Thomas, Esq., J.P., of Irlam, has not only given a large number of books during recent years, but also presented complete sets of the publications of the Manchester Literary Club and the Manchester Geographical Society, and paid two subscriptions for ten years to each of these Societies that students may enjoy their meetings. This year (1922) he has crowned his benefactions by establishing an Endowment Fund for the Library.

In May 1915, in response to the appeal of the librarian of the John Rylands Library for gifts of books to form a collection for the University at Louvain to replace the valuable one destroyed by the Germans during the war, fifty-eight volumes were presented, and acknowledged by Mr. Guppy as "most valuable contributions." In October of this year the Library received one of its most handsome

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donations from Mr. George W. Rayner Wood, J.P., in 459 books, most of which belonged to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the same year Mrs. T. P. Spedding presented 120 books from the library of her late husband, a former student of the College.

Other donations during recent years deserving acknowledgment are those of Dr. J. Estlin Carpenter, Edward Braithwaite, Esq., F. W. Monks, Esq., J.P., the late Miss Sharpe, the late Mrs. J. R. Beard, the late Mrs. William Haslam, the Misses Bennett, Mrs. Frank Taylor, Miss Bright, Mrs. J. E. Stead, the late Rev. Samuel Thompson, and the Rev. W. H. Drummond.

Since 1915, in addition to the grant of £10 a year from the Gaskell Scholarship Fund, the Library has enjoyed an annual grant of the same sum from the Sharpe Hungarian Scholarship Fund.

From 1920 to 1922 Mr. T. F. Wright, the great-grandson of a Unitarian minister, has presented the Library with no fewer than a thousand books, most of which are standard editions of works in Literature and Biography. In 1922 the British and Foreign Unitarian Association and the Sunday School Association placed the Library on the free list, and made valuable grants from their past publications. In the same year the Gaskell Scholarship Trustees again marked their interest in the Library by a grant for books of £200. Being thus enriched through the generosity of their friends, the Library Committee deemed it not unfitting to raise the honorarium of the assistant librarian to £5.

In thus hastily summarizing the gifts and bequests to the Library during the last ten years many have been omitted which, though not very considerable in number, have strengthened the Library in one or other of its departments. But one pleasing type of gift must not be omitted, namely, that of many of the students who marked

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their appreciation of the help afforded them by the Library by adding to it one or more volumes on leaving the College to enter the ministry.

The Library now numbers nearly 15,000 volumes. Of the character of many of these the contents of this volume may afford some indication.

The Library contains many volumes formerly in the possession of the Rev. John Ralph, minister of Northgate End Chapel, Halifax, 1769-95, and founder of the Chapel Library there. The spirit of the man is reflected in the notice of the foundation: "It is proposed to collect a small library of books calculated to promote religious knowledge, and principally such as illustrate the truths and enforce the doctrines of Christianity. As it behoveth us *to try all things*, it is not intended to exclude the writers upon any doctrinal system, provided their books breathe the spirit of that religion they are designed to teach."

This fine spirit of toleration and free but reverent inquiry seems to have animated many of the founders of the libraries whose books in process of time have helped to build the College Library. This is especially fitting since the Library is part of an institution which, in the words of the Preamble to its Constitution, "adheres to the principle of freely imparting Theological knowledge without insisting on the adoption of particular Theological doctrines."

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II. *The Books*

(a) THE COLLECTION

THE Story of a Nonconformist Library is not one but many, or if one its subject is Life, and its various chapters relate to the different aspects of life in which Nonconformists are interested. Again, the stories are told not only by the authors of the books it contains, but also, though for the most part less consciously, by their previous owners and readers. Indeed, as the former narratives are recounted in every library possessing the volumes in question and cannot be even epitomized here, whilst the latter pertain to the books in this Library and to no other, there are good reasons for confining our attention in the main to what is related by owners and readers, some of whom at least were themselves authors and men of mark and few utterly unworthy of a hearing.

But a word, first, of the Collection as a whole. This is not, as its origin and use might suggest, altogether sombre and academic in character. Liberal dissenting ministers and laymen of an older generation did not eschew the literature of fiction, travel, or the stage. There is room even for *Punch and Judy*, by George Cruikshanks (1828), whilst the great novelists of the nineteenth century—and some who hardly merit the epithet great, the living alone excepted—have their appointed place. The exception does not mean that by the Nonconformist conscience a dead dog is esteemed higher than a live lion, but only that fiction enters the Library by bequest, not purchase, and that donors have belonged to the now much despised mid-Victorian age. Writers of fiction of the century before the last, though more “profane” in tone than their successors in the reign of Disraeli’s patroness, are by no means wanting. Copies of the first edition of Fielding’s *Tom*

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Jones (6 vols., 1749), and of that curious "Comic Romance" *The Spiritual Quixote, or the Summer's Ramble of Mr. Geoffrey Wildgoose*, written by Richard Graves, the clergyman poet-novelist, ridiculing Methodist enthusiasm and practices, are in the company of Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse* (two editions: 1769, 1792).

Travel and adventure, apart from reprints in Arber's *Garner*, are represented by names like Addison, Aikin, Boswell, and Burnet in the eighteenth century, and by those of Speke, Stanley, Captain Scott, and Archer in the nineteenth. The earliest is a folio by Herrera, dated 1522, and the seventeenth century is not unrepresented. Of drama, not reckoning modern editions of the great English and foreign writers, there is a folio of the Works of Davenant (1673), a fine edition of Beaumont and Fletcher (10 vols., 1752), and a considerable collection of plays from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Next to the Bible, biography bulks largest in the catalogue, and its catholicity is rather remarkable. Dictionaries in seventeen languages from Ethiopic to Esperanto, and grammars of almost as many tongues may interest the student of philology. In Semitics there is almost a surfeit of good things. Three Hebrew grammars, additional to that of Caleb Ashworth, mentioned elsewhere,¹ deserve a brief note. *Lingua Eruditorum*, by Victor Bythner (1675), explaining the Hebrew alphabet, calls resh the "*lingua canina, quod tremula linguae vibratione, canum, dum ringuntur, sonum imitatur*," which may be rendered: "the canine letter, because, [pronounced] with a tremulous vibration of the tongue, it is like the sound of dogs when they snarl." *The Key of the Holy Tongue* (Leyden, 1593) is by P. Martinus, "All Englished by John Udall for the benefit of those that (being ignoraunt of Latin) are desirous to know the Holy Tongue." Udall was a con-

¹ See p. 45.

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tributor to the Mar-Prelate Tracts, and died, after imprisonment for his offence, the year before his Grammar was published. This work, we are told, "was prized by James vi. of Scotland, who is reported to have inquired for the author on his arrival in England in 1603, and, on learning he was dead, to have exclaimed, 'By my soul, then, the greatest scholar of Europe is dead!'" *The Elements of Hebrew Grammar* (1832), by William Probert (1790-1870), minister of Walmsley Chapel, near Bolton, for nearly fifty years (1821-70), has some special features of its own. Copies of it are extremely rare, and a late professor of Semitics in the University of Wales, on hearing of one at Summerville having long searched for it in vain, travelled to Manchester to get a glimpse of it. It was printed by private subscription. Only a small edition was published, and this copy is due to a bequest from the family of one of the subscribers.

If, without consulting the catalogue of the Library, one desired to acquire some knowledge of its contents, it would be most helpful to read the essays of two celebrated men of letters, friends and Unitarians, whose lives covered the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

William Hazlitt (1778-1836) was the son of a Unitarian divine¹ whose published sermons are here, and was himself trained at the Hackney College to follow his father's profession. His first literary production, written when he was only thirteen years of age, was a letter to the *Shrewsbury Chronicle* on the subject of the Birmingham riots, July 14, 1791, when the mob burnt down Priestley's house and destroyed his valuable library. The tribute to his father in *Dissenters and Dissenting Ministers* glows with veneration of his person and love of his principles. His sketch of the favourite reading of the old ministers,

¹ See p. 187.

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obviously drawn from his memory of his father's library, describes books and authors at Summerville. "They had Neale's *History of the Puritans* by heart, and Calamy's *Account of the Two Thousand Ejected Ministers*, and gave it to their children to read—with the pictures of the polemical Baxter, the silver-tongued Bates, the mild-looking Calamy, and old honest Howe; they believed in Lardner's *Credibility of the Gospel History*; they were deep-read in the works of the Fratres Poloni, Pripiscovius, Crellius, Cracovius—who sought out truth in the texts of Scripture and grew blind over Hebrew points." The last name in the list, apparently coined from that of the Polish city, probably indicates the writer's innocence of any personal acquaintance with the *Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum, quos Unitarios vocant*. Doubtless the vellum backs of the folios and the pictures of their sad-looking authors were familiar, and such knowledge sufficed. It was otherwise with *John Bunce* (1765–6), the work of Thomas Amory, a contributor to Priestley's *Theological Repository*.¹ In an Essay on Bunce he calls him "the English Rabelais" and his work "a Unitarian Romance." Besides the authors named, others of whom there are early—in many cases first—editions in the Library, on whom Hazlitt wrote, are Burke, Fox, Tucker, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Thomson, Cowper, Swift, Rabelais, Voltaire, Gray, Goldsmith, Bacon, Sir Thomas Browne, Jeremy Taylor, Izaak Walton, Scott, Wordsworth, Leigh Hunt, Montaigne, Richardson, Sterne, Godwin, and Cobbett.

With Charles Lamb (1775–1834) the case is much the same. The writers he names may almost all be read in the Library—Selden, Usher, Scapula, for whom George Dyer "might have mustered," Zimmerman on Solitude, Fulk Greville, Horne Tooke, Hume (and Smollett's Continuation of Hume), Sheridan, Locke—most of them

¹ See p. 101.

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in first editions. In his essay on *The Tombs in the Abbey*, originally published in the *London* as a letter addressed to Robert Southey, Lamb, as elsewhere in his letters, avows his Unitarianism and mentions one of its stoutest advocates whose writings weigh heavily on our shelves. "Sir, you were pleased (you know where) to invite me to a compliance with the wholesome forms and doctrines of the Church of England. I take your advice with as much kindness as it was meant. But I must think the invitation rather more kind than seasonable. I am a Dissenter. The last sect with which you can remember me to have made common profession were the Unitarians. You would think it not very pertinent if (fearing that all was not well with you) I were gravely to invite you (for a remedy) to attend with me a course of Mr. Belsham's Lectures at Hackney."

If to the books spoken of by Hazlitt and Lamb are added those quoted by Mark Pattison in his famous essay on the *Religious Tendencies of England* (1688-1750) a formidable number of the inmates housed in the Library would be identified, for in it there are only two or three writers named who are absent from the collection, most of them, indeed, being here in the original editions of their works. It must be confessed that, with conspicuous exceptions, these treatises of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are tedious reading—least tolerable of all, perhaps, the writings of Belsham and his school in their combative mood, for, as Hazlitt said, "It would be in vain to strew the flowers of poetry round the borders of the Unitarian controversy." The political orations of the preachers are a trifle less wearisome, but neither these nor the funeral sermons will keep one long out of bed. The latter, like the rest of their kind, are too lengthy and learned for our taste, and seldom descend to the particulars dear to the student of biography. A volume of *Funeral Sermons for*

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Samuel Bourne, of Bolton, who died March 4, 1719, in the 72nd year of his age, includes one by his son of the same name preached to his father's late congregation. Even this is adorned with foot-note quotations in Greek and Latin, and what the preacher said in praise of his departed sire may be applied with equal truth, if not in the same spirit of eulogy, to most other clerical authors of that age. "Nor need you to be told that he *sat down to work* for every sermon he preach'd; he did not put you off with jejune or trifling ministrations, with unfurnished discourses—they always smell'd of the lamp." The italics are the preacher's. Of many of the sermons and pamphlets of the eighteenth century the reader may be content to repeat the words of a scribe who wrote in one of them: "There appears to be much in this volume worth considering, even if some of the conclusions be rejected."

All the great Unitarian controversies of the three kingdoms for the last two centuries and a half are here. The *Salters' Hall Controversy* (1719), "viewed by Unitarians as the charter of their liberties,"¹ has sixty-five cards to its credit in the catalogue, and the number of volumes illustrating *The Arian Movement in England* is so large that no fewer than seventy works mentioned by Mr. Colligan in the book of that name published in Manchester in 1913 are in the collection, though he apparently found many of them only in London and Edinburgh.

Lamb, in *Detached Thoughts on Books and Reading*, speaks of "books which are no books—biblia a-biblia." All the authors to whom he attributes such productions—Hume, Gibbon, Robertson, Beattie, Soame Jenyns, Josephus, and Paley—are here, and as substitutes for his "Court Calendars, Directories, Pocket Books, Draught Boards bound and lettered at the back, Almanacks and

¹ Gordon: *Heads of English Unitarian History*, p. 34.

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Statutes at Large," we have University Calendars, Proceedings, Annual Reports, Cabinets of Newspaper Cuttings and Photographs, Albums and Catalogues. The last, however, are not without attractions for book-lovers. They include, besides modern publications, the Catalogue of the Chetham Library (2 vols., 1791), one (1819) of the Books, Pictures, etc., of a wealthy Manchester Unitarian Layman with all the prices marked, the first Manchester Free Reference Library Catalogue (1864), and the *Catalogus Bibliothecae Harleianae* (4 vols., 1743-4), with its *Account of the Harleian Library*, written by no less a person than Samuel Johnson. The words "Apud Thomam Osborne" at the foot of the title-page bring to mind the publisher for whom the great lexicographer slaved in the days of his penury. "It was said," reports Boswell, "that Johnson one day knocked Osborne down in his shop, with a folio, and put his foot upon his neck. The simple truth I had from Johnson himself: 'Sir, he was impertinent to me, and I beat him. But it was not in his shop, it was in my own chamber.'"

Amongst other "biblia a-biblia" in the Library may be included the volumes of Lectures and Notes of Lectures in MS. and the manuscript sermons discussed elsewhere.¹ To these we may add a stout 4to volume, labelled *Test Act Papers*, collected by William Wood (1745-1808), which is made up of fly sheets, proceedings of deputies all over the country, and letters to and from politicians like William Wilberforce, Henry Duncombe, Henry Beaufoy, Christopher Wyvill, and Lord Petrie relating to the movement of Dissenters to obtain relief from the iniquitous legislation of the Tory High-Church party. William Wood, then minister of Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds, was the leading spirit in the West Riding campaign on this question. Another volume deserving to come under

¹ See pp. 44-5.

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Lamb's curious classification is one in MS. labelled *Select Hymns* and dated 1766. Its author, John Crossley, whose pedigree is like that of Melchizedek, has signed his name thrice in different cryptic forms, and at the end of the book written tables of passages from the two Testaments supposed to illustrate doctrines in which he was interested. This lover of hymns and Scripture closes with the words : " I began the Old Testament on Novemb. 14, 1766, and finished October 20, 1767." When he began and finished his study of the New Testament he does not say.

(b) BIBLIOGRAPHY

It would be too much to claim that the Library has much of peculiar interest to bibliographers. Here are no incunabula, or books printed in the fifteenth century, and but few books of any great value. Yet some of the most famous presses of the sixteenth century are well represented : Aldus, Venice ; And. Cratander, Basel ; Joan. Tornaesius, Geneva ; Seb. Gryphius, Lyons ; H. Stephanus, Paris ; J. Heragius, Basel ; H. Froben, Basel ; P. Brubacchius, Frankfort-a-Main ; Giunti di Florenza, Venice ; and H. Petrus, Basel. The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century presses are too numerous to be listed. They include Elzevir and Plantin from the one, and Foulis and Baskerville from the other. The rare Servetus volumes are as follows : (1) A copy of the first edition of Servetus' *De Trinitatis Erroribus* (1531, 16mo.) ; (2) a copy of the first edition of *Dialogorum de Trinitate*, (Libri duo., 1532, 16mo.) ; both the above are in unique condition, in strictly contemporaneous binding, and bound with them are two other contemporary tracts—one against Erasmus ; (3) a copy of the Venice edition of Servetus' *De Syrupis* (1545), revised by himself from the first Paris edition. Mr. Leonard Mackall, who has made

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a close study of the bibliography of Servetus, says :¹ "The genuine original editions of the 1531 and 1532 volumes on the Trinity (printed by Johann Setzer in Hagenau, near Strassburg) have for centuries been so extremely rare that it is not surprising that Osler, Cuthbertson, and Hemmeter give an illustration of a counterfeit instead." In a letter to the writer he identified the copy at Summer-ville as the Morante-Knaake copy. "The Catalogus Librorum Doct. D. Joach. Gomez de la Cortina, March. de Morante v., 346/7, no. 8519 (Madrid, 1859), states that his copy is the one previously offered in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile* ser. iii., no. 2113 (Nov. 1839). It later appeared in the Morante sale, Paris, May 20th, etc., 1872, p. 26, no. 2049 ; then in Oswald Weigel's Knaake auction, iii., no. 969 (Leipzig, Feb. 23, 1907), where it sold for Mk. 430 to Otto Harrassowitz, who included it in his catalogue 329 (1910) as no. 2461, for Mk. 800—where, however, the final item in the old binding, *Ad Mattheum Elberum Rutlingensium Ecclesiasten, de Coena Dominica*, Huldreich Zuinglii, *Epistola* Tiguri (1525), is no longer mentioned—probably the Morante copy of it is that in Harrassowitz's cat. 330 (or Jackson iv.), no. 2837, for Mk. 35, no doubt simply removed from the old binding."

Amongst the MS. notes in the Dutch translation of Servetus' *De Trinitate Erroribus* by R[enier] T[elle] (1620) is a quotation from Henry, Calvin, *His Life and Times* : "The printer of this book was put to death." The copy of Allwoerden's *Hist. M. Serveti* (1723) previously owned by Dr. Samuel Parr appears from Mr. Mackall's observations to be the original issue—there having been two editions of this book in Latin. It contains two long notes, one of which is an extract from a letter of Desmaiseaux in *Bibliothèque raisonnée des ouvrages de l'Europe*.

¹ *Contributions to Medical and Biological Research, dedicated to Sir Wm. Osler* (1919), p. 769.

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Three volumes printed at Rácow serve to remind members of a free University Faculty of Theology in Manchester of a Polish Unitarian College, open to all comers in the early part of the seventeenth century, which was completely destroyed through the machinations of the Jesuits. They are *F. Socini Opera* (1618), *F. Socini Epistolae* (1618), and John Crell's *De Uno Deo Patre* (1631). The press had been founded by Alexius Radecki at Cracow, where the works of Socinus were published during the reign of Stephen Bathory (1576-86), and when suppressed in Cracow the press was transferred to Rácow. Radecki was twice imprisoned for publishing Unitarian literature, and for safety frequently printed under an assumed name. He was succeeded at Rácow by his son-in-law, Sebastian Sternacki, who issued the volumes named above. He continued the press until it was finally suppressed in 1638. One of our two copies of Crell's book was read by a German who wrote on the title-page his detestation of its doctrine. An English scribe on the opposite page says : " This edition is considerably enlarged and has escaped the attention of Bock." John Crell (1590-1633) was a German scholar, Prof. 1613-16 and Rector 1616-21 of the Socinian College at Rácow, whose works were included in the *Bibliotheca Fratrorum Polonorum*. Fred. Sam. Bock published the *Historia Antitrinitariorum* (2 vols.) in 1784. It is based largely upon the *Bibliotheca Anti-Trinitariorum* by Sandius (1684), which gives only one edition of Crell's work in 1631, though he names three others of later years. In one of two copies of Sandius is a note signed " Ed. Harwood " : " This is a scarce and very valuable book. It contains a very exact catalogue of the Arian and Unitarian writers and their writings. Its worth was announced to me by a learned foreigner. Sandius was a physician. He died at Amsterdam in 1680."

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Edward Harwood (1720-94), a friend of John Taylor, of Norwich, was the author of numerous works, in fact he claimed to have "written more books than any person now living except Dr. Priestley." Amongst them was an edition of the Greek Testament (1776) and an Introduction to the Study . . . of the New Testament (1767-71), both of which are in the Library. The former, though passed over in silence by Sir Frederick Kenyon and Scrivener, has been recognized as a pioneer work of great merit by Gregory, Reuss, Abbot, and Dr. Souter. The same is true of the anonymous text and version of Daniel Mace (1729), also here, which Scrivener deemed "unworthy of serious notice." Harwood's Liberal Translation of the New Testament (1768) was a singular production. He begins a well-known parable thus: "A gentleman of a splendid family and opulent fortune had two sons" !

A number of volumes possessing bibliographical features of some importance are noted elsewhere for other reasons. A few more are worth a word or two: Fulke's *Text of the New Testament Translation out of the vulgar Latine by the Papists . . . whereunto is added the Translation out of the Original Greek . . .* (1617) contains a valuable bibliographical note on the various editions of this book. Camden's *Remaines* (1623), formerly in the libraries of Charles Wellbeloved and Eustace Strickland, has a MS. supplement of epitaphs and a sketch. John Barlow's *Exposition of the Second Epistle of the Apostle Paul to Timothy, the First Chapter* (1625) contains a note by H. J. Morehouse in which he says: "This work is extremely scarce, being the only copy known to exist. It was unknown to Watson or Crabtree in their edition of the *History of Halifax*. According to Lowndes, John Barlow printed a second edition (this the first not being mentioned) folio (1632) entitled *Exposition of the First and*

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Second Epistles of Timothy, with a Discourse of Spiritual Stedfastness and Five Sermons."

One of two copies of Jeremy Taylor's *Liberty of Prophesying* (1647) contains engravings, by W. Holl, of Taylor and Barrow, and a print entitled "The Reformation," showing the great reformers standing round a table on the centre of which is a lighted candle. Luther with an open Bible is at one end, the Pope, the Dragon, and two Roman ecclesiastics at the other. The Roman quartet are vainly endeavouring to extinguish the light, and the legend is "wee cannot blow it out."

In Oliver Heywood's *Life in God's Favour* (1679) Morehouse has written: "The original editions of several published works of the Rev. Oliver Heywood are now very scarce. When the Rev. Joshua Hunter compiled *The Life of Mr. Heywood* in 1842 he failed to be able to meet with more than one of the books, viz., *Heart Treasure*, etc., printed in 1667. None of Mr. Heywood's publications are to be found in the British Museum, although they are said to be seventeen in number. He had, therefore, only Vint's reprinted edition for reference. The Rev. Dr. Fawcett, of Halifax, having erected a printing-press of his own at Brierley Hall, where he then resided, reprinted, or professed to do so, one of Mr. Heywood's works, entitled *Life in God's Favour*, in which, however, he took the unwarrantable liberty of making alterations in the text, which the editor of Mr. Heywood's Works observes "cannot with strict propriety be called a republication." Notwithstanding this, Mr. Vint himself also made considerable alterations, omissions, and additions to that same work! He informs us that he took the liberty of "substituting Dr. Fawcett's paraphrase instead of the original as the concluding meditation." Both Mr. Vint and Dr. Fawcett have excluded the *Sacred Poems* of George Herbert at the conclusion of this work. We

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cannot but condemn this heartless officiousness. It is evident that Herbert was a favourite poet whose writings charmed and warmed the breast of good Mr. Heywood. He divided this work into thirteen chapters. Mr. Vint has divided it into ten."

In John Clendon's *Treatise on the Word Person* (1710) we read : " This book was suppressed and is very scarce. The Epistle to the Reader ought to precede the first Dedication [that to Lord Cooper]. The Table of Contents and Errors are inserted in this copy."

A volume containing *A Layman's Sermon in Defence of Priestcraft* (n.d.) and *Some Thoughts concerning Virtue and Happiness* (1729) is inscribed " Capel Lofft 20 Aug. 1792," and attributed by him to " Nettleton." Another page has the signature " H. Kendall 1739." H. J. Morehouse has prefaced a long note to this book, and a still longer one (partly repeating the first) to the second edition of the latter of the two treatises published in 1736. As Nettleton has not been honoured with a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, extracts from these notes fitly introduce him. " The Tracts here bound together were both published anonymously. The latter, however, was well known to have been written by Thomas Nettleton, physician, of Halifax. A second edition was printed in 1736 which was considerably enlarged, and the title somewhat changed—*A Treatise on Virtue and Happiness*—and yet without the author's name. The Rev. John Watson, the historian of the parish of Halifax, in his *Temple of Fame* gives a brief notice of this work. But of *A Layman's Sermon* we do not find any notice in contemporary writers. It is, therefore, doubtful whether its author was publicly known. It certainly was unknown to Mr. Watson, or that it emanated from Halifax. In the search for these ephemeral publications he seems to have bestowed great care. These Tracts would seem to have been in the

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possession of Capel Lofft, Esq., of Troston Hall in Shropshire (the patron and friend of the author of *The Farmer's Boy*), who has recorded on the title-page that they were written by "Nettleton." A previous owner was "H. Kendall," dated 1730. I find that a Mr. Kendall was Presbyterian minister at Elland for a short time before Dr. Nettleton's death, that the Kendalls of Shropshire were related to the Nettletons, and that the doctor's grand-daughter, Rebecca Wood, who survived her brothers, lived with her relatives, the Kendalls, in Shropshire. *A Layman's Sermon* is stated to have been "preached to a Private Congregation in 1733" and "occasioned by a Sermon on the Duty of the People to their Pastors." Beyond the London publisher, no name is given. Being dedicated to "the Priests of all Denominations," probably the doctor found it prudent to exercise extreme caution in the distribution of this pamphlet, which, though it contains no special reference to his own district, might have been resented by the pastors to whom it relates with something like modern "boycotting." The Rev. Mr. Burton, then Vicar of Halifax, seems to have been distinguished in his sermons for fulsome adulation of loyalty and passive obedience. It would, therefore, appear that the secret had been carefully kept in the families to which it had originally been entrusted till long after the time when it would have ceased to afford annoyance."

"It is stated in Chadwick's *Life of Daniel Defoe* that Defoe resided for a time in the town of Halifax about the latter part of the reign of Queen Anne, when he became acquainted with Dr. Nettleton of that town, and also with the Rev. Nathaniel Priestley, then (1696-1728) minister of the Presbyterian Chapel, Northgate-end (p. 420). Doubtless their political creeds might to a large extent be in harmony. Dr. N. was a man of liberal views both civil and religious, and of warm and generous sympathies."

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In the second of the volumes named above Morehouse gives the genealogy of Nettleton, a brief summary of his life, and particulars of his scientific pursuits. Some of these were "communicated to Dr. Jurin, of the Royal Society, and afterwards printed in the Society's *Transactions*. Amongst these is the record of Nettleton's inoculation for small-pox of sixty-one persons forty years before the discovery of vaccination by Dr. Edward Jenner. "A later edition of the *Treatise on Virtue and Happiness*, surreptitiously printed, was attributed to William Nettleton, M.D., F.R.S. Nettleton's wit is illustrated by an anecdote: "Being in company with several gentlemen, one of whom was laying great stress on Dean Echard's account of Oliver Cromwell selling himself to the Devil before the Battle of Worcester, affirming that the bargain was intended to be for 21 years, but that the Devil had put a trick upon Oliver by changing 21 into 12, and then, turning hastily to the Dr., he asked him 'What could be the Devil's motive for so doing?' The Dr. without hesitation announced that he could not tell what was his motive, unless he was in a hurry about the Restoration."

Morehouse also gives extracts from the Diary of Dr. Jessop, of Holmfirth, with whom Nettleton was intimate, concluding: "Dr. Nettleton was very much lamented. He was the author of a *Treatise concerning Virtue and Happiness*. He was born on the 4th of Nov., 1652, and died on the 10th Jany., 1741, so that he was aged 89 years."

Birch's *Life of Tillotson* (1752) contains two pages of notes "from Dr. Birch's Memorandums," including a copy of a letter from Thomas Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury, and at the end of the book are printed the Additions which appear in the second edition, published 1753.

In a volume containing *A Letter to the Rev. Richard Elliott* (anon., 1792) and *A Letter addressed to the Rev.*

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W. Moorhouse (1792), by T. Smart, we are introduced by H. J. Morehouse to a humble Unitarian author not elsewhere noticed. "The two following Tracts were written and printed by Mr. Thomas Smart while he was engaged as a journeyman printer with Mr. Joseph Brook, Printer, Huddersfield, with whom he continued for many years. He remained through life a firm and consistent Unitarian Christian, though at that time there was no Unitarian place of worship in the Town. I knew him intimately in his latter years, and to him I am indebted for the gift of these Tracts. He died November 22, 1840, aged 75 years."

A fine 4to edition of *Lucretius* (1813) contains a note to the effect that "The whole impression was for private distribution, but only 25 copies were printed on L.P. like this. The edition has escaped the notice of Dr. Dibdin in his last edition of his work on the Classics."

Unitarian scholars, who were the first in England to recognize the superiority of Griesbach's New Testament text to that of the *Textus Receptus*, and to publish translations of it, were also the first to adopt Tischendorf's text after his discovery in 1858 of the *Codex Sinaiticus*. Tischendorf's eighth edition of the New Testament (1865) first took account of this discovery. Robert Ainslie (1803-76), a Unitarian minister, straightway broke away from the tradition of the Griesbach text in his translation of 1869. The order of the books follows that of the *Codex Sinaiticus*, and the titles, paragraphs, numbering of chapters and verses are those of Tischendorf. The preface gives an account of the discovery of the famous manuscript and of previous English translations, and notes some of the principal changes in this version as compared with the authorized. A copy of it is in the Library, which also contains Ainslie's own copy of Tischendorf, with his bookplate and that of his son-in-law, Sir John Russell Reynolds, Bart., president of the Royal College of

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Physicians. It is interleaved and contains much of Ainslie's translation though not exactly in the form in which it was published. Many of the readings are extremely quaint. The following are found both in the MS. and in the printed edition. James iii. 6 says of the tongue : "it setteth on fire the circle of our family," and in his Prefatory Remarks Ainslie observes : "I believe it to be an accurate translation, it is common sense—it is a matter of fact, and of universal experience, and presents to us a truth whose power is witnessed in daily life." Again, in Titus ii. 3, the aged women are bidden be "in behaviour as becometh holiness, not devils." The translation enjoyed little vogue, but is by no means worthless. "As a translator," says its author, "I know nothing of Theology. I have no theological system to uphold." The statement cannot be refuted from his translation.

(c) HISTORICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Certain previous owners of books in the Library displayed great anxiety to assure the recognition of their rights of ownership. A volume of Homilies on the Book of Samuel, in Latin (1554), bears the signature of the presumably original owner under date 1597. This has been crossed out by the next proud possessor, who writes after "Liber" and the defaced signature : "at nunc Johannis Ashworthii 1609." A "breeches" Bible (1610) with Sternhold-Hopkins' Psalms (1614) appended has the inscription "James Barrott, his book." Not content with this, he adds immediately beneath a second signature with the words "his thoo troo owner of this Book 1720." Alas, the Barrott family, if it survived, did not treasure the volume as James did, for the next page is a register of the births of a family named Love from March 26, 1791, to March 30, 1840, and no connection is claimed with the Barrotts ! One volume, Stillingfleet's *Answer to Cressy*

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(1675), was apparently in the same family for at least 160 years. It is signed "Samuel Hext 30 June 1675" and "John H. Hext 1835." Three volumes of Milton's Works (4to, 1698) contain the autograph of Richard Milnes, of Chesterfield (1636-1706), a contemporary for thirty-eight years of the poet. "From Robert, the eldest son of Richard Milnes," we are told, "descended Richard Monckton Milnes, created in 1863 Lord Houghton," the well-known man of letters. A genealogical table at the end of the volume traces the connection of the Milnes and the Wood families. From a member of the last-named family the volume passed into the Library.

The identification in the Library copies of the anonymous contributors to Priestley's *Theological Repository* (1769-72, 1784-8), and to the *Manchester Socinian Controversy* (1825) is discussed in Essays that follow. *The Occasional Papers* (1716-19) were formerly owned by Joshua Toulmin (1740-1815) and John Kentish (1768-1853). Toulmin writes in volume one: "The writers of *The Occasional Papers* were Brown, Avery, Grosvenor, Wright, Evans, Earl, and Lowman—the initials forming the word Bagweell. The last 'l' was not deciphered to my friend Mr. Watson, of Bridgwater, who gave me this information." This note is signed and dated April 26, 1792. Later he added: "Lardner is said to be the second 'l'." In the Preface to his edition of Neal's *History of the Puritans* (1793) Toulmin gives six of the above names, and in 1798, in a letter to *The Protestant Dissenter's Magazine* (pp. 276-7), the contributions of five writers, with the remark "there is every reason to credit the accuracy of my information, as it comes from the lips of the late Dr. Flexman, through my deceased friend the Rev. Thomas Watson, of Bridge-north." Writing, finally, to *The Monthly Repository* (1813, p. 443), he gives all the names, including that of

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Lardner. All the writers were men of some note in their day. Jabez Earle was a witty centenarian Presbyterian divine who is said to have spoken of his three wives as "the world, the flesh, and the devil."

The Mirror, an Edinburgh periodical (1799-1800, 3 vols.), contains a list of 110 articles identifying their writers. The writers of many anonymous works are written on the title-pages of the Library copies, and in some cases the anonymous tracts and pamphlets of one author have been brought together and bound under his name. Thus have been collected, for example, the writings of A. A. Sykes (1684-1756), whose pen-names are identified, including the mysterious T.P.A.P.O.A.B.I.-T.C.O.S., which are the first letters of the words "The Precentor and Prebendary of Alton Borealis in the Church of Salisbury."

Biographical notes are found in many volumes. One in *A Declaration from York*, by Sir Francis Wortley (1642), is almost as long as the tract itself.

Richard Baxter's *True and Only Way of Concord* (1680) is of interest from its associations. It came from the "New Meeting-house, Kidderminster," in the vestry of which Baxter's pulpit, purchased from the authorities of the Parish Church for a trifling sum in 1780, is still preserved. It contains two pages of shorthand notes and the signature "Thos. Tayler." In one of several volumes of Tracts relating to the Revolution of 1688 H. J. Morehouse wrote: "These Tracts belonged to my Ancestors, and formed part of a thick volume of Tracts . . . They have at length come into my possession, and are now divided into small volumes."

Unlike the detached and disinterested students who now occasionally peruse such works to-day, the early readers of seventeenth-century theological treatises, being zealous for King or Parliament, for Uniformity or Toleration,

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could not refrain from delivering their souls on the book which attracted or repelled them by its political or religious sentiments. The one-time owner of Stillingfleet's *Rational Account of the Grounds of the Protestant Religion* (1665) found it impossible to keep his pen still as he followed its argument, and poured out ink copiously on the broad margins of the folio. Touched by a discourse in Izaak Walton's *Life and Sermons of Dr. Sanderson* (1678), another scribe writes : Q[uary] "Is faith to be kept with an Enemy? A[nswer] You are not so much to consider to whom as by whom thou hast sworn, and therefore he is found much faithfuller than thou, which believing thee having sworn by the name of God, hast been deceived in you that by that means hast deceived him; though nothing be now more common than so to deceive."

In Lobb's *Growth of Error* (1697) a rare anti-Socinian treatise, a story is told exposing the perfidy of Socinians. Unfortunately, as another note discloses, it is not corroborated by historical research. The difference in value between oral tradition and written evidence is thus made evident. The title-page is inscribed "Richard Duke," and a note by the same hand dated "Bath, May 26, 1720" runs : "At Montpellier in the year 1674 I saw one Monsr. Dumount, a Protestant minister, who was deposed for Socinianism. He was first found out by altering ye form of Baptism, wch he administered Au nom du Père et non du Fils et Saint Esprit, for wch He was prosecuted before the Parliamt of Toulouse, and condemned to lose his head, wch he thought fit to redeem by sacrificing his fair daughter to the President of the Parliamt, as was generally reported at Montpellier when I was there.

Richard Duke."

In a letter attached to the volume the Rev. Alex. Gordon tells a different story, under date May 5, 1910 : "Prof. Bonet-Maury has referred me to Ph. Corbière's

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Hist. de l'Église Réformée de Montpellier (1861), from which I learn as follows : Étienne Dumont was born at Puy-l'Évêque, department of Lot, studied at Geneva, was pastor at Graisses duc 1668-9, at Nîmes 1669-79, and therewith at Montpellier 1670-71. But on April 15, 1671, at the Synod of Bas-Languedoc, assembled at Nîmes, he was suspect of Arianism, and after examination was deposed from his pastorate at Montpellier. Whether the above dates show that the Nîmes Reformed were less suspicious, or more tolerant, than those of Montpellier does not appear. However, in 1680, a year of stringent persecution, he 'apostasised from the evangelic faith and got a pension from Louis xiv. on becoming a Roman Catholic.' There is no reference whatever to any prosecution before the Parlement (*i.e.* High Court) of Toulouse, or to the scandal about his daughter. I incline to imagine that if R. Duke's memory, after 46 years, was accurate, the story was largely due to Montpellier malice in regard to the suspect."

Occasionally the text of a book is discussed or criticized by a scribe. Whitaker's *History of Manchester* (2 vols., 1773) contains a lengthy "Memorandum" regarding the Roman Fort at Singleton described on pp. 237-8, giving in detail an account of the site based on a conversation (August 18, 1839) with a man of 67 years of age who had worked at Singleton 51 years, *i.e.* since 1788. Whitaker is honoured by several notices from Gibbon. In one he says : "The lively spirit of the learned and ingenious antiquarian has tempted him to forget the nature of a question which he so *vehemently* debates and so *absolutely* decides !" Yet the point in debate which Whitaker maintains and Gibbon derides is said by Bury in his note added to Gibbon to be "now generally admitted."

In a collection of Salters' Hall Controversy Tracts formerly in the library of Edward Harwood, already

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noticed, there is inscribed on the title-page of *A Letter to the Rev. Dr. Waterland by Philanthropus Oxoniensis* (1722): "Dr. Flexman told me that this was the most sensible Pamphlet in the whole controversy." Roger Flexman (1708-95) was remarkable for his historical knowledge. "Happening one day," says Boswell, "to mention Mr. Flexman, a Dissenting minister, with some compliment to his exact memory in chronological matters, the Doctor replied, 'Let me hear no more of him, Sir. That is the fellow who made the Index to my Ramblers, and set down the name of Milton thus: "Milton, Mr. John."'"

The Annals of the Reign of George the Third, by John Aikin (2 vols., 1820), was formerly the property of the Duke of Sussex. It contains his book-plate and many autograph notes. Here are three. Commenting on the passage of the Stamp Act (1765), Aikin said, "During this period His Majesty had been labouring under an indisposition, since generally understood to have been of the same nature with that which has so deeply affected the latter years of his reign." On an inserted leaf the royal scribe disputes the statement. "This is a great mistake, for I heard my mother say that the King caught a cold, and it passed upon his lung from being neglected. He was thus frequently from the impossibility of bleeding him in the left arm. The victim of the fever had such a swelling round the orifice of the right arm that in a moment when it was necessary to repeat the bleeding, Hawkins, the surgeon, declared he did not dare attempt it. Sir Edward Wilmot, the physician, called out immediately, 'Peynelt, take out your lancet, if you are worth anything in your profession you should know how the veins lie. The king can but die, but this may save him . . . ' Within a very few minutes after His Majesty opened his eyes, and, smiling at Peynelt, said in a low voice 'My good friend,

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I thank you. I heard all and prayed you might succeed . . . ' My mother always said that my Father owed his life to the courage and dexterity of Peynelt Hawkins." On page 262 Aikin describes the Gordon Riots of 1780, and speaks of the irresolution of the ministry. The king's son adds : " It was the firmness of King George the Third which put an end to this frightful movement. The Lord Mayor was timid—the ministry puzzled, and never would act. The King declared he would take the office of First Magistrate as well as of King, and gave the order for troops. On the 6th or 7th of June (I cannot just mark the day), after Lord Rockingham had spoken in Council with great approbation of the firmness of the king and explicitly said that it was the only thing to be done, his Lordship was attacked by someone of Lord George Gordon's mob in the street. He was so very much alarmed that he came to the Queen's House and begged to see the King. His majesty was at Dinner, but immediately went to his private room, into which he ordered Lord Rockingham to be admitted, whom he found in a great state of hysteria, pale, and with very anxious countenance. The King's first words were ' Now what has happened, my Lord ? ' ' Sir, everything that is bad must be expected from the victories of the lower orders, and I have reflected that this is the moment for your Majesty to declare yourself a despotic monarch.' The King instantly replied, ' I desire, my Lord, you will not tax us. . . . You are ill. . . . You are not able to stand. Listen to what I have to say. My Lord, go home, go to bed, and don't utter a syllable of that has passed. A good night's rest will prove that your nerves were much affected to-day, and you will do me the honour to try soon to forget what you said this evening.' " The statement (p. 333) respecting Fox's India Bill, that " His Majesty declared he should deem them who should vote for the Bill not only not his friends but

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his enemies," is strengthened by the scribe's remark : " King George sent to Lord Winchester, then His Majesty's favourite, with orders to go immediately to all the Lords of the Bedchamber with the Peers in place at that time to vote against the Bill before Supper to-morrow, for he should otherwise list them as his enemies." " The result was," says the historian, " that on a division upon the question of adjournment the ministers were left in the minority of 79 to 87," to which the Duke of Sussex adds, " Thank God."

Summa Universae Theologiae Christiani secundum Unitarios (1787), published anonymously, was written by Michael de Szent Abraham, bishop or superintendent of the Unitarian Churches in Transylvania from 1737–58. The decree of Joseph II. authorizing its publication is given in a note. It is indicative of that monarch's generous and broad-minded religious spirit. " The MS. forwarded to the government with the title 'Summa Univ. Theol. etc.' is now returned to the Transylvanian authorities with the remark that its impression is the more readily granted, as besides that this religion is one of those recognized in Transylvania, the tone of tolerant moderation pervading the work may well serve as a model for other religious writings. Signed Charles, Count Pálffy, in accordance with His Majesty's commands." The hostility towards Unitarians which previously obtained in Austrian official circles may be seen from the fact that this work must have lain in MS. for nearly thirty years, and was only then published without name.

John Keble's *Christian Year* (1875), illustrated by Fr. Overbeck, contains a letter by the author, dated June 17, 1848, to the printer, giving suggestions as to the printing of his Sermons. One is " that the name of each Sermon should appear at the top of the page, as in Mr. Newman's Sermons." Another " that the Preface may go to Press last,

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in case I should wish to make any verbal alterations." The volume has an added illustration of Keble College Chapel.

Unitariorum in Anglia Fidei, Historiae, et Status Praesentis Brevis Expositio (1821) was drawn up "ut apud exteros quoque labores et consilia sua innotescant." It is probably the last instance of the employment by Unitarians of Latin—the scholar's *lingua franca*—in order to spread abroad a knowledge of their movement in England. Its composition was doubtless inspired by their introduction to Hungarian Unitarianism in the previous year by John Kenrick, then a student in Germany, who communicated to *The Monthly Repository* a lengthy note on the subject.

(d) PRESENTATION COPIES

Lamb defines a Presentation Copy as "a copy of a book which does not sell sent you by the author, with his foolish autograph at the beginning of it ; for which, if a stranger, he only demands your friendship ; if a brother author, he expects from you a book of yours which does sell in return." Not all the Presentation Copies in the Library belong to this category, but it would be idle to deny that some probably do. Liberal divines of the hundred years from 1750–1850 appear to have freely exchanged their Sermons and Pamphlets, and none to have been any the worse for it. These volumes, whose number is large, may for the most part be passed over here.

The Two Great Mysteries of the Christian Religion, by G. G. G. (1658), is the work of Godfree Goodman (1583–1656). He was bishop of Gloucester during the long parliament, was impeached with Laud in August 1641, and committed to the Tower, but released on bail after eighteen weeks' imprisonment. Appended to a preface addressed to Oliver Cromwell is the following note : "This treatise was given to me William Blundell at London in ye year 1653 by my very good frend ye

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Author, and I think it was ye first copy what came from ye press. He dyed about two or three years after ye publication of ye same and I do well remember what ye weekly newes-book reported yt he dyed a Roman Catholic ; wch I hawe cause to beleewe was true." The writer was a Roman Catholic royalist officer, and an author of works on topography. His *Cavalier's Note Book*, ed. by T. E. Gibson, was published in 1880. In the *Dictionary of National Biography* Sir Sidney Lee, the biographer of Goodman, does not give the title of this work as it is found in this copy. Two biblical scholars, contemporaries, whose works are in the collection, are represented by presentation copies. Kennicott's *Dissertation* (1753) is stated to be "Don. Auth., April 25, 1755," and Lardner's *Sermons* is inscribed "E. C. Blackmore Don. Authori."

Reflections upon Liberty and Necessity (published anonymously in 1761) contains a note addressed to "Dr. Dawson" giving a list of corrections to be made in the text, adding "I hope Dr. Dawson will not think this edition quite so execrable as the last. I am sure he will be so candid as to consider it as only wrote for the amusement of a few Friends, and not designed for the Publick, and likewise to forgive the impropriety of its being put into his hands." The volume is not one we should read for amusement, but the friends of the author may have had other notions of light reading.

The Chaldaean Account of Genesis (1876) was given by its author, George Smith, the Assyriologist (1840-76), with an expression of warm regard to Samuel Sharpe, Egyptologist (1799-1881), whilst Sharpe's *History of Egypt* (2 vols., 1852) was given by him to William Blazeby, May 1851.

The Rev. William Gaskell's *Sermon on the Death of J. Ashton Nicholls* (1859) was presented "to Miss Thompson with the Donor's Kind Regards, May 6, 1860." It was

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preached at Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, on the occasion of the premature loss of one who was the first lay secretary of the College, to whose memory the Nicholls Hospital in Hyde Road was erected by his father, a stained glass window placed in the Longsight Free Christian Church by his mother, and a memorial erected in Ancoats by public subscription.

Of volumes presented not by the author but by one or more persons, as a token of affection or esteem, to a friend, relative, teacher, or pupil the following deserve a note. The first half-dozen may serve to show what profound human interest attaches to books in a library.

A copy of Beza's edition of the New Testament (1611) was given by a lover to his lass. The words that are scribbled at the end of the book hardly conceal even now the heartache of the gallant penman: "Good swt. Megee. I desire you to loue me that am yr. most humble Sarvent to defend yr. beauty. T. Williams."

In Rd. Baxter's *Treatise on Self Denial* (1675) we read "Mrs. Ann Eskricke Hir Booke, Given Hir by Hir Mother." Doubtless the mother had in mind the nature of the treatise, and the daughter fondly recalled, possibly after the decease of the donor, the affection that prompted the gift.

An edition of *Pœtæ Minores Graeci* (1671) takes us back to "the whining schoolboy, with his satchel and shining morning face, creeping, like snail, unwillingly to school." Its inscription reads: "E libris Thomi Eginton. Ex dono Johannis Hoo- Armigeri, June 6, 1741." Probably the last surname is incomplete by reason of the difficulty of the genitive. Then comes the scholar's attempt to write his own name in Greek letters. At the foot he adds: "My Lesson is in 423." The next page has three verses of a sort, badly written, beginning: "For those groves with content and tranquility," expressing the writer's

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longing to be "where they hear not the voice of the task-master."

Francis Hutcheson's *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections* (published anonymously in 1728) is signed in a fair round hand: "Katharine Blount, Given me by Mrs. A. C." Did the matron hope she was giving her young friend something that should be of service to her in the delicate affairs of the heart? It may be so.

Bagster's *Comprehensive Bible* was presented to a Welsh Dissenting minister "as a tribute of affection and gratitude for past kindnesses" by an old pupil. Names and dates are given. Between the Testaments is a family register. The last entry is that of the death of a promising young man, an only son, educated for the ministry, a grandson of the minister to whom the book was presented. His military career from September 1914 is given and a short account of his death after the armistice at the hands of an Arab rebel. This is not the only trace of the tragedy of the Great War. *Pictures From France* (1919), a series of sketches by an *alumnus* of the College, is inscribed by his widow "In Remembrance of Student Days," and one shelf is full of handsomely bound volumes which, being opened, reveal the fact that they were prizes won at a great public school by a brilliant classical scholar, afterwards a University Lecturer, who also lost his life during those dark days.

Enyedino's *Explicationes Locorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti* . . . was presented to John Fretwell by the Consistory of the Hungarian Church in recognition of his labours in its behalf. This is the original Latin edition published posthumously without date or place given. It was publicly burned in Transylvania and interdicted throughout the German empire. It is accordingly very rare. The second edition, in Hungarian, was published in

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1619 at Koloszvár, and the third edition, also in Hungarian, was published there in the following year. A fourth edition, with neither date nor imprint, was published at Groningen in 1670. Bishop Ferencz reports¹ that a copy of this book is said to be in the Vatican Library, catalogued as *Diabolus Invictissimus*.

Bacon's *Essayes* (1632) is inscribed "The gift of John Lee 1755." John Lee (1733-93) was solicitor-general in the Rockingham and attorney-general in the Portland administrations. He was a personal friend of Priestley and Lindsey. The book was presented to Mrs. Josiah Oates, of Leeds, an ancestor of the "very gallant gentleman" who walked out in the storm to meet death when the Scott expedition was drawing near to its sad fate. Grotius' *Annales et Historiae* (1658), signed by John Johnson (1761-1836) and Samuel Parr (1747-1821), was the gift of the latter to the former, his friend and afterwards his biographer. As companions in the Library there are Field's *Life of Parr* (2 vols., 1826), Barker's *Parriana* (2 vols., 1828), Parr's *Works* (8 vols. 1828), and numerous volumes containing the signature of the Whig Johnson.

The Fanatick History . . . of the Old Anabaptists and the New Quakers (1660) bears this note, written in a beautiful hand: "William David, his book, Given him by his Master The Honble. Sir Charles Kemoys Barron in the year of our Lord 1731."

Harmer's *Observations on Scripture* (4 vols., 1808) was "Presented by the Trustees of Manchester College, York, to Mr. John Colston as a Prize for the best delivered Oration at the Examination 1832. William Turner, Visitor." John Colston's valuable bequest to the Library has been noticed elsewhere.² William Turner (1761-1859), minister at Newcastle-on-Tyne 1782-1841, was

¹ *Unitárius Kis Tükör*, p. 42.

² See p. 2.

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a friend and correspondent of Lindsey, and contributed a series of valuable historical articles to *The Monthly Repository* under the signature of V.F. (Vigilius Filius), Vigilius having been one of the signatures of his father in Priestley's *Theological Repository*.¹ Yates' *Vindication of Unitarianism* (1815) was presented "To the Rev. Dr. Carpenter from the Glasgow Unitarian Fund as a small testimony of the gratitude of its members for his many and important services to the cause of Truth." It is signed "George Harris, Secretary," and dated "April 7th, 1815." The controversy between James Yates (1789-1871) and Ralph Wardlaw (1779-1853), of which the volume formed part, was destined to be of little consequence compared with that which George Harris himself aroused ten years later.²

Amongst many Quaker publications is Anthony Purver's *Translation of the Bible* (2 vols., folio, 1764), "the gift of P. A. Gurney to Joseph Metford, 17th of 11th Mo. 1828."

One of several editions of Towgood's *Dissenting Gentleman's Three Letters* (1818) was "the gift of Dr. Bruce, Belfast (1830) to William Turner," and thus two eminent Unitarian scholars—Irish and English—are associated with a work by an Arian divine which, says the historian, "for three generations remained the standard work on Dissent, and which has been more frequently reprinted, both in England and America, than any other publication of the kind."

Ashworth's *Letters on the Rise of Unitarian Doctrine at Rochdale . . .* (1817) was the gift of Dr. John Thomson (1782-1818), who was responsible for the book being written, and who first introduced the Methodist Unitarians to the Unitarian public. It is dated "Leeds, 29 Jany., 1818," and must have been one of the first copies from the press.

¹ See p. 102. ² See p. 134.

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Books presented to William Blazeby naturally form part of the collection that bears his name. They include College prizes, gifts from his congregations, and one volume, Sir Thomas Browne's *Works* (1831), given to him in 1900 from Dr. Martineau's library, which bears a second inscription: "Miss H. Martineau from her faithful friend T. M. F. 1st. Jany. 1836."

Thirty-five volumes of the *Proceedings* of the Liverpool Literary and Philosophical Society (1841-94) were "Presented to the Library of the [Unitarian] Institute, Liverpool, by Miss H. E. Higginson in 1890." The donor expressed a wish "that in case this Library should at any time be dispersed the volumes should find a place in one of the libraries connected with our Chapels, or in some other not less public library." On the dissolution of the Institute they were transferred to Hope Street Chapel Library, whence they came to Summerville, whereas many volumes of the *Proceedings* of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society from its foundation are also to be found. The latter society was born at the house of Dr. Thomas Percival (1740-1804) a prominent member of Cross Street Chapel, Manchester; the *Proceedings* of the former Society include some of the earliest historical work (1870) of the Rev. Alexander Gordon, principal of the College 1890-1911.

NONCONFORMIST ACADEMIES

The Library constitutes a link between the College and its predecessors the Nonconformist Academies. Two volumes afford first-hand evidence of the character and work of Richard Frankland, founder of the first Academy at Rathmell in 1670. Both were the work of James Clegg (1679-1755), one of his pupils, namely, *The Diary and Autobiography of James Clegg*, edited by Henry Kirke and published in 1899, and Clegg's *Discourse on the Death*

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of *John Ashe* (a fellow-student), published in 1736. The latter is described by the authors of *The Older Nonconformity in Kendal* (1914) as "a scarce volume," for the loan of which they were indebted to the kindness of one gentleman and the good offices of another. The writings of several pupils of Frankland also illustrate the training they received. One volume relates to a pupil who entered the Academy in its first year. *The Sermons of Thomas Whitaker, A.M.*, edited by Thomas Bradbury, was published in 1712. Two other pupils of Frankland contributed to it, Timothy Jollie, afterwards head of the Academy at Attercliffe, writing a Memoir of Whitaker, and Thomas Dickenson adding two sermons preached on the occasion of his death. Of Whitaker's own sermons, one is on the death of Jeremiah Gill, a pupil first of Frankland and then of Jollie. In the preface Bradbury mentions that to the church at Leeds, where he settled in 1675, Whitaker "did the offices of a faithful pastor near 34 years. When he was separated from 'em in the latter end of K. Charles's reign and the beginning of K. James's, it might well be called more than an absence in body. For the space of 18 months he every week writ out those Sermons that he would have deliver'd in person, had not Satan hinder'd him." The reference is to the preacher's imprisonment for his fidelity to principle in York Castle. Next to Bradbury's memorial of this faithful alumnus of Rathmell is a volume of MS. sermons. A note on the first page runs: "The Reverend Thomas Whitaker, the venerable author of this volume of Sermons, was upwards of fifty years the respected minister of Call Lane Chapel, Leeds. He died in July 1778, in the 80th year of his age, having succeeded his father, of whom some Memorials were published by the Rev. Thomas Bradbury in 1712. This manuscript volume seems to have been compiled by the author at the request of his congregation shortly before

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his death, as a memorial for their benefit. The volume is entitled "*The Spiritual Marriage, or The Union of Christ to Believers set forth and explained in Twenty-two Sermons*, from Jeremiah C. iii. 14, by the Revd. and Learned Mr. Thomas Whitaker of Leeds." It bears no date. The preface is addressed "To my dearly beloved Friends, the Hearers of these Sermons, in and about Leeds, in Yorkshire." "After careful enquiry," the writer of the note concludes that "these Sermons were not published." The volume was formerly in the possession of the Rev. Joseph Marshall, nearly 50 years minister of Lydgate Chapel. He was a native of Leeds, and his father's family had been for several generations members of Call Lane Chapel. It is, therefore, not improbable that one of the family, seeing that the Sermons were not to be published, had obtained the loan of the manuscript and made the present transcript. The sermons cover over 300 8vo. pages, and are followed by what is intended for verse, celebrating the pious joy of their author on the completion of his labour. In the preface Whitaker secundus expressed his reluctance to let his Sermons "run the gauntlet of a critical and censorious world." It is curious that he should have had his wish, but whether willy or nilly no man can say. Joseph Marshall was minister of Lydgate Chapel from 1764 to 1814, and his name is inscribed in the title-page of the volume. Between them the Whitakers, father and son, occupied the one pulpit for 84 years—a tenure almost as exceptional as the preaching of twenty-two sermons on one text. Of the tutors and pupils of the numerous Academies that followed Frankland's there are many published works in this as in other libraries. Some are of peculiar interest on account of the inscriptions or notes they contain.

A copy of Doddridge's Lectures (1768) was used by Dr. Lant Carpenter in 1798, when a student at the

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Northampton Academy. This Academy, then under John Horsey, had been founded in 1729 by Philip Doddridge, who had been a student at Kibworth (founded 1715) under John Jennings, from whose Latin MS. he had borrowed the form and some of the substance of his lectures. In his copy of Doddridge, Lant Carpenter made copious notes in a neat hand, including excerpts from various theological text-books in vogue among Nonconformist students of the period.

The successor of Doddridge was Caleb Ashworth (1722-75), under whom the Academy moved to Daventry, where Joseph Priestley was a student. In 1763 Dr. Ashworth published a small *Hebrew Grammar* for the use of his pupils. The author of the lives of Ashworth and Priestley in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, despite diligent search, had never seen a copy of it until he saw one here. Probably the edition was small, students do not commonly treasure Hebrew grammars, and few libraries may possess copies.

The fare offered at these early schools of the prophets may be sampled not only from printed works such as those named, but also from lectures and students' notes in manuscript. Eight volumes of notes made from 1763 to 1765 at Hoxton Academy introduce us to the orations of Andrew Kippis and John Eames. As the last-named tutor died in 1744 these notes must have been taken from someone reading his MS., as he published nothing. Three of the volumes are in Latin, two in shorthand, and only one in simple English. The subjects are Natural Philosophy, Belles Lettres, Chronology, The History of Eloquence and Oratory, the latter containing all "Quotations in the original languages."

From Homerton Academy comes a volume of MS. notes of lectures by John Conder, D.D., on Christian Theology, delivered before 1781, and taken down by

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Richard Fry (1759–1843). Fry, first a Congregationalist and then a Unitarian, was minister of the New Meeting, Kidderminster 1813–36.

Warrington Academy is represented by many printed works. Amongst them is Priestley's *Course on The Theory of Language and Universal Grammar*, printed by the celebrated Warrington printer, W. Eyres, in 1762. Another work of his, *The Rudiments of English Grammar* (1769), as a note informs us, "passed through several editions." This edition was printed during Priestley's residence in Leeds, whilst minister of Mill Hill Chapel. Mr. Rutt, the editor of Dr. Priestley's works, states that he had never been able to see a copy with the Frontispiece, although search had been made in the British Museum.

Two folio volumes of the *Hebrew Concordance*, by John Taylor, one time divinity tutor at Warrington, were bequeathed by his grandson, the Rev. Philip Taylor, of Dublin, to Dr. Martineau. They were presented by Miss Martineau to the Hebrew prizeman at Manchester College in the year of Dr. Martineau's death, and given by him to the Library. In his address at the Centenary Soirée of Manchester College, held in London, June 23, 1886, Dr. Martineau referred to this work. Speaking of the Warrington Academy (1757–83), he said: "Some of the most delightful friendships of my early settled life were with a few of the *alumni* of the Warrington Academy. Some visible relics of those times I still reverently preserve, gifts or bequests of Mr. Philip Taylor—one a copy of Dr. John Taylor's *Hebrew Concordance*, which was the author's own personal possession." Another book written by John Taylor, and formerly owned by him, is *A Paraphrase with Notes on the Epistle to the Romans* (1752). Amongst numerous notes in it is the following: "Quae in hoc libro manu scribuntur, praesertim ad paginas 364 et 365 ab ipso auctore

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esse scripta, ipse auctor, nomine subscripto, testor. Johan. Taylor."

The works of Gilbert Wakefield, professor at Warrington 1779-83, include his fine edition of Lucretius (3 vols., 4to., 1796). "The first edition," says his biographer, "is somewhat rare in consequence of the destruction of many copies by a fire at the printer's warehouse." In 1790 Wakefield became classical tutor at the newly established College at Hackney, but resigned in the following year. Of the ill-fated Hackney College there is an ample memorial in a volume of Sermons and Tracts relating to its rise and fall, in addition to copies of works by the members of its staff. It is interesting to observe that Priestley printed his *Heads of Lectures on a Course of Experimental Philosophy* . . . Delivered at the New College in Hackney (1794), as he tells us in the preface, "to save the students the trouble of transcribing them." His remarks in the Address, which precedes the Heads, delivered to the students at the end of the Session 1791 are an appeal to them to act with caution and sobriety in matters political. It was by no means superfluous.

In the Library copy of John Mill's *Novum Testamentum* (folio, 1707) there are tokens of the painstaking diligence of another tutor at Hackney. John Pope, tutor in classics 1791-3, has numbered the paragraphs of the double-columned Latin Prolegomena of 168 pages, greatly enlarged the index, and on its wide margin written countless notes in Greek and shorthand. The first note, which he signed, affords some indication of the time and labour spent on the work. "In the gospel of Matthew, I have copied exactly R. Stephens' margin from his edition of the New Testament of 1550. For the rest, I have only corrected the margin of Mill in his transcript from this edition, so that this may be regarded as corresponding

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exactly to Stephens' copy. A list of Stephens' errors is at the end of this volume."

The Academy at Exeter is represented by a number of volumes formerly in its Library, e.g. *The Memoirs of the Life, Character, and Writings of Philip Doddridge*, by Job Orton (1767), contains the inscription: "The gift of the Author to the General Academy, Exon." This academy had been kept for some years by Joseph Hallett (1656-1744), and continued by his son of the same name (1691-1744). "It ceased to exist for nearly forty years, and was revived in 1760, in a house which had been given by William Mackworth Praed. Micaijah Towgood was invited as tutor, and the library belonging to the late academy at Taunton was removed to Exeter."¹ One book which came from Exeter bears an inscription showing that it was originally at Taunton. A Greek Testament published by Roger Daniels (1653) was purchased by James Belsham in 1713. It is interleaved, contains notes "ex doctissimis anctoribus collectis," and was formerly in the library of the General Baptist Academy in London (founded 1794).

Manchester Academy (now College) is represented by the published works of its tutors from its foundation, in 1786, by Thomas Barnes, minister of Cross Street Chapel, Manchester. Other volumes are from their libraries and contain their notes. *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores Post Bedam*, a folio of 1596, contains two book-plates of William Boynton Strickland and Eustace Strickland, two members of a well-known Yorkshire family, and the signature of "C. Wellbeloved, York, 1840," followed by the letters E.A.E.A.A.C.M.E., which, being interpreted, mean Ex aere collato ab alumnibus Collegii Mancuniensis Ebor. This is one of several volumes purchased from the fund presented to Wellbeloved on his retirement

¹ Colligan: *The Arian Movement in England*, pp. 76-7.

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from the College at York, of which he was principal from 1803 to 1840. Several volumes of Lectures by the Rev. J. G. Robberds, professor of Hebrew and Syriac 1840-45 and of Pastoral Theology 1840-52, constituted one of the earliest donations to the Library. Twenty volumes of lecture notes taken down from Martineau, J. J. Tayler, Eddowes Bowman, and R. Finlay by William Blazeby when a student of Manchester College, formed part of his bequest to the Library. The marble medallion of J. J. Tayler, professor 1840-57 and principal 1853-69, formerly in the Upper Brook Street Church, Manchester, of which he was the first minister, was presented by the Trustees of the Chapel to the College, and has been placed in the new Library building. "As one of the Professors and afterwards Principal of Manchester New College he won by his exact scholarship and refined taste, his zeal for truth and sweet Christian spirit, the reverence and affection of all who came under his influence. And his religious and historical writings gave him an honoured name throughout the churches holding a Free Theology." A number of volumes from the library of the late Dr. James Drummond, professor 1869-85 and principal 1885-1906, contain valuable critical notes. He is the first of the many tutors and pupils writing in shorthand to employ the system invented by Sir Isaac Pitman. Twenty-six volumes were "Granted to Joseph Carpenter, M.A., by the Hibbert Trustees, December 3, 1869"—the distinguished scholar who was professor 1875-1906 and principal 1906-15. In a volume of the works of S. Ephrem the Syrian, edited by J. B. Morris (1847) is an interesting letter by the late W. E. Addis, professor 1900-10, discussing the editor of the book named and other writers. "Bower knew little or nothing of the sources directly, but he lived in the golden age of ecclesiastical criticism and copied

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freely from French scholars, especially Tillemont. Tillemont's accuracy, as Gibbon says, 'approached genius,' his learning was stupendous, and modern inquiry, which has thrown much light on the origins of Christianity, has added little to our knowledge of the Church in the great Patristic age, say from A.D. 200 onwards. Ephraem's Homilies in Morris's translation is a much higher order of work. Morris was a man of real learning, and besides being an accomplished Syriac scholar was deeply read in the Fathers. He was one of the most learned, most innocent, and most eccentric of men. He became a Roman Catholic early in 1846, and his total inability to teach, preach, manage a parish, or keep out of debt led him into endless trouble. He and I were very intimate, and I was with him a few hours before his death. There is a lot of useful learning in his notes on St. Ephraim. Probably I am among the very few who have read a big book of his called *Jesus the Son of Mary*. It abounds in recondite learning buried under extravagances of many kinds. His best work was his translation of Ephraem. . . . "

Archibald Bower (1686-1766) was a Jesuit historian who conformed to the Church of England, was readmitted to the Society of Jesus (1745), but left a second time two years later and was afterwards proved guilty of being secretly a member of the Roman Catholic Church. Tillemont is one of the great historians in the Library.

The Life and Letters of Stopford Brooke (1917) contains a letter by its author—the present principal of Manchester College, Dr. Jacks—to the late Dr. Charles Hargrove, dated February 17, 1918. An extract will interest the many admirers of the subject of the biography and its author. "What Brooke achieved was considerable, but the interest of his life centres in his personality and not in his work. This, I think, is the mark of true greatness, and corresponds to the right order of values. Christianity

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preserves that order as its central tenet. I do not and did not feel as you do about Brooke: that he was a larger edition of myself, or of anything within myself. No two men were ever more unlike one another than he and I, and I could only realise his world by an effort of imagination. He was one of the great companions. His emergence in the mid-Victorian times was one of Nature's wildest freaks, for he had next to nothing in common with his environment. A portent—but one that we can love."

Naturally, the staff of the Unitarian Home Missionary College is well represented in the Library. Many of the books formerly owned by Dr. J. R. Beard, principal 1854-74, are on the shelves, whilst his MS. Lectures on Biblical Hermeneutics, a typed and bound biography of him by his son, the late J. R. Beard, and an Album containing the portraits of his students, presented to him on his retirement from the principalship, are amongst the memorials of the earliest days of the institution. Amongst the books presented to the Library by the Rev. Henry Green, M.A., visitor 1859-73, are copies of his own works. One—Whitney's *Choice of Emblems*, edited with Notes and Dissertations (1866)—contains the following note: "Of this form of Whitney's Emblems, on tone paper, small size, only six copies have been issued. Henry Green, Knutsford, May 15, 1866." An interleaved edition of Griesbach's New Testament (1810) contains the lecture notes of the Rev. William Gaskell, tutor 1854-74, principal 1874-84. The notes are mostly in shorthand, and the Greek is written without breathings or accents. A copy of Gebhardt's edition of Tischendorf bears the inscription: "Used by Principal Odgers and later by A[lexander] G[ordon], who twice had it rebound." Notes by A. G. are found in several volumes. One, characteristic of the writer, in a volume on Dissenting

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history, reads : " Bound and presented by A. G., who wishes it were more accurate."

Another, in James's *History of the Litigation respecting Presbyterian Chapels and Charities*, says : " In this copy the print of Evans's List has been revised by the original, and some few other corrections made." The Opening Lectures, delivered by the late Rev. J. E. Manning whilst tutor of the College (1894-1910), with his MS. notes and additions, are amongst the number of his books in the Library.

Two volumes deserve to be named in connection with the subject of the College and its predecessors in the last two centuries and a half because of their peculiar appeal to students for the ministry. One is *An Essay upon Study, wherein Directions are given for the Due Conduct thereof, and the Collection of a Library, proper for the purpose, consisting of the Choicest Books in all the several Parts of Learning*, by John Clarke, published in 1731. The other is the first of a collection of sixteenth-century Sermons : *A Godly and Learned Sermon, Containing a Charge and Instruction for all unlearned and dissolute Ministers. And an exhortation to the Common People, to seeke their amendment, by Prayer unto God. Preached at Manchester in Lancastershire, before a great and worshipfull Audience, by occasion of certaine Parsons there at that present, appointed (as then) to be made Ministers*, by Simon Harwarde, published in 1582.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY UNITARIAN TRACTS

THE Tracts published by English Unitarians during the last decade of the seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth century have a peculiar interest for the student of English Unitarian history. They reveal the existence at this date of different schools of thought using the Unitarian name, the influence in England of Polish Socinian writings, the scriptural basis of English Unitarianism, the rational and, all things considered, critical character of Unitarian biblical scholarship, the current methods of theological controversialists, and the need for caution on the part of heretics in the propagation of their opinions. They attest also the activity within the Church of England of a considerable number of Unitarians, including several clergymen, and represent the first, but by no means the last, attempt of such thinkers to justify their retention of membership in the established church.

Robert Wallace, in the *Christian Reformer* (1845) and in his *Antitrinitarian Biography*¹ five years later, discussed in detail the first three volumes of Tracts, and several later writers have referred to their contents and to the Trinitarian controversy in the Church which evoked them. Much that relates to them, however, remains obscure, and as the Library of the Unitarian Home Missionary College contains no fewer than four sets of the first three volumes and, in addition, a Fourth and Fifth Collection in one volume, a fresh discussion of them may prove of value.

THE NAMES OF THE COLLECTIONS

Contemporary historians like Burnet and Oldmixon when they deign to notice the Tracts describe them as "Socinian"—the latter writer adding the adjective "blasphemous." At this date the name "Unitarian"

¹ *Antitrinitarian Biography*, vol. i., pp. 219 ff.

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was little known in England. First found in an adjectival form (*unitaria religio*) in a decree of the Transylvanian Diet (October 25, 1600), it became in 1638 the designation of the church in Transylvania founded by Francis David. Though the Polish Socinians did not adopt the name, it was given to them as may be seen from the title-pages of their folio volumes published in Holland in 1668—*Bibliotheca Fratrum Polonorum quos Unitarios vocant*. Apparently the term was brought to England from Holland by Henry Hedworth, who, as the Rev. Alexander Gordon has shown, used it in print in 1673. Fourteen years later was published *The Brief History of the Unitarians, called also Socinians*, written by Stephen Nye, but anonymous and unlicensed. It was the first occurrence of the name on a title-page in English. Nye, the grandson on the spindle side of Stephen Marshall, a popular Presbyterian minister, and on the spear side of Philip Nye, the Independent advocate of toleration at the Westminster Assembly, was Rector of Little Hornead, Hertfordshire, and the chief contributor to the Unitarian Tracts, in the first volume of which was included a second edition of *The Brief History*. Henry Hedworth is almost certainly the H. H. to whom the Tract *Considerations on the Explications of the Trinity* (1694) is addressed by Nye,¹ and has been identified as the *Person of excellent Learning and Worth* by whom a letter was appended to *The Brief History*, in which mention is made several times of “the Unitarians or Socinians.” The order of these names suggests that the former was preferred by the writer, but that the latter was more intelligible to the general public. This is plainly the meaning of the Headings of the four letters which make up *The Brief History*: “The . . . Letter concerning the Unitarians, Vulgarly called Socinians.”

¹ “Henry Hedworth and the Early Unitarian Movement,” *The Christian Life*, vol. xviii., p. 400.

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Halfway through the Second Collection, at the foot of a Tract dated 1692, is an advertisement of nine Tracts in vols. i. and ii. which runs "Books lately printed by the Socinians." Two years later (in vol. iii.) are two advertisements of these and other Tracts as "Books lately printed for the Unitarians." Apparently by this time, in consequence of the wide circulation of the Tracts, the term "Unitarian" was better understood. "A Divine in the Church of England," not to be identified with Nye, speaks in 1698 of "The Unitarians, I mean the English so called."¹ But "Socinian," employed for the most part as a term of opprobrium, long survived in this country, and has been frequently given to the Tracts. Historians are not agreed in their usage. Toulmin, Wallace, J. J. Tayler, the Revs. H. W. Clark and Alexander Gordon describe them as "Unitarian Tracts." Dr. W. A. Shaw, who distinguishes the different types of Unitarians in this period, refers to them as "Anti-Trinitarian." The Rev. W. H. Hutton, in discussing the Trinitarian controversy, alludes to "a number of Socinian Pamphlets" then published, and the Rev. J. H. Colligan not only denominates the Tracts "Socinian," but quotes "Socinian Tracts" in a footnote as the authority for a statement in his text. The title "Socinian" is misleading, for, as J. J. Tayler pointed out,² "the writers are careful to insist on the several points in which they differed from the foreign Socinians." The fifth Tract in the Third Collection, *A reply to the Second Defence of the XXVIII. Propositions, Said to be wrote in answer to a Socinian Manuscript*, is declared to be by "The Author of that MS., no Socinian, but a Christian and Unitarian," whilst the writer of the fifth Tract in the Fifth Collection observes "Those in England who call themselves Unitarians never were in the sentiments of

¹ *Grounds and Occasions of the Controversy*, p. 13.

² *Retrospect of Religious Life in England*, p. 339.

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Socinus or the Socinians. Nevertheless, as our opponents have pleased themselves in calling us Socinians, we have not always declined the name, because in interpreting texts of Scripture we cannot but approve and follow the judgment of those writers, who are confessed by all to be excellent critics and very judicious." Finally, some of the contributors to the Collections were Sabellian and even Arian rather than Socinian. Speaking generally, and excluding a few reprints, the Tracts are Unitarian, using that term in the most comprehensive sense as inclusive of differing Christological schools acknowledging the supremacy of the Father.

It may be added that all the volumes of Tracts in the U.H.M.C. Library bear the name "Unitarian Tracts" on the back, with the exception of a single copy of vol. i. which has been re-backed and is now called "Biddle's Tracts"—a title plainly erroneous since only three of the eleven Tracts contained in it can be claimed for Bidle. Doubtless the anonymous *Short Account of the Life of John Bidle*—the first of the Tracts—is responsible for the present title of the Collection.

THE NUMBER OF VOLUMES PUBLISHED

Toulmin, in his *History of Protestant Dissenters*, mentions only three volumes of Unitarian Tracts, and the same number is given by Dr. W. A. Shaw. In Dr. Williams' Library there are two sets of the three Collections, besides a number of Tracts, though by no means all, found elsewhere in two later Collections. Bonet-Maury mentions four volumes, as does also the Rev. J. H. Colligan. Wallace examines three Collections,¹ adding: "Mr. Firmin is generally supposed to have prepared and set in motion the machinery by which the three volumes of Tracts were produced . . . and it was probably at his

¹ *Antitrinitarian Biography*, vol. i., pp. 218 ff.

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expense that they were published in a collective form. A fourth volume appeared some years after his death, but it does not exhibit, in its typography or general character, the same unity of purpose as the three preceding ones.”¹ He then describes it and gives the titles of the Tracts it contains. The copy of the Fourth Collection had been the property of Dr. Toulmin,² and was lent to Wallace by John Kentish, into whose possession it had passed. It is now in Manchester College Library, lettered on the back “Socinian Tracts,” vols. 4 and 5. In addition to the Fourth Collection it contains, as Wallace said, “several other detached pieces, which were published, from time to time, at the close of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century.” When Wallace wrote these words, though he had heard of a Fifth and a Sixth Collection, he had seen no copy of either of these volumes. Later, in Appendix xxiii. to his third volume, he gives the Table of Contents of a Fifth and Sixth Collection which had been sent to him by Thomas Rees. Mr. Colligan says³ that “a translation of the Oxford decree against Sherlock is in Socinian Tracts iv. 9.” It is not found in the copies of volume iv., which had belonged to Kentish and Rees, nor in the copy in the Library at Summerville, but it is found as an Appendix to the second Tract of volume v. in all the copies of it named above. Mr. Tarrant⁴ refers to six volumes of Unitarian Tracts, and remarks in a note that “the contents of the Unitarian Tracts are detailed in Hunt ii., 273.” This statement is not strictly accurate. Hunt⁵ names only three series of Tracts, besides which he observes “there were other single Tracts of the same

¹ *Op. cit.*, vol. i., p. 358.

² *Monthly Repository* (1813), vol. viii., p. 444.

³ *The Arian Movement in England*, p. 23, v. i.

⁴ *The Story and Significance of the Unitarian Movement*, p. 35.

⁵ *Religious Thought in England*, vol. ii., p. 273.

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date." At the end of a list of them he says, "Some of these Tracts, along with others not named here, are included in volumes called Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Collections," and refers to Wallace for an account of them—apparently not being himself acquainted with more than three Collections. J. J. Tayler is content to say,¹ "These Tracts fill several volumes," and, in a footnote to his second edition, adds more precisely,² "five or six volumes in small quarto. The three first are the most important, in the publication of which Firmin is supposed to have been largely concerned." In a footnote to an article on Gilbert Clerke (*Monthly Repository*, January 1823) the writer refers to the *Grounds and Occasions of the Controversy concerning the Unity of God* as "the fourth tract in the fifth volume of the old Unitarian Tracts, a volume exceedingly scarce, and, until very lately, hardly known to be in existence." Of the Five Collections in the U.H.M.C. Library the last two correspond in their contents to those of which details are given by Wallace in his text and Appendix. The so-called vol. 5, bound up with the Fourth Collection and other Tracts in Manchester College Library, lacks Title-page, Table of Contents, and two important Tracts belonging to the Fifth Collection. The Fourth and Fifth volumes are distinguished from the first three in several particulars. The titles of the first three are "The Faith of One God who is only the Father" (vol. i.). "The Second (Third) Collection of Tracts Proving the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the only True God." The other two titles run as follows: "A Fourth (Fifth) Collection of Tracts relating to the Doctrine of the Trinity." Again, whilst the first three volumes have a scriptural quotation on the title-page, the fourth and fifth volumes have none. The type of the last two also differs from that of their

¹ *A Retrospect of the Religious Life in England*, p. 338.

² *Ibid.*, p. 228.

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predecessors. Wallace observes,¹ "The Unitarian Tracts . . . were generally printed in small 4to, with double columns. To this circumstance Mr. Edwards (an orthodox opponent) alludes on more occasions than one, calling them 'the double-columned prints,' and their authors 'double-column'd gentlemen, and double-column'd writers.' "

These double columns, so characteristic of the first three volumes, are frequently absent from the fourth and fifth volumes. In vol. iv. of eleven Tracts three only are not in double columns, but in vol. v. of seven Tracts four are in single columns. In the first three volumes, except in the case of reprints, no names of authors or printers are given ; in vol. iv. two printers' names and addresses are found ; whilst in vol. v. the names and addresses of printers are given in five cases, four of them being different persons, and the name of one author is added. These were unknown to Toulmin when he wrote (April 5, 1808)² : "I observe that in looking into the volumes of *The Unitarian Tracts* (1691 to 1707) no printer or publisher is mentioned." It is interesting to note that one Tract in vol. iv. and two in vol. v. were printed by women, and that in one instance these two women are associated as printer and seller of the Tract. Their names and addresses—Mary Fabian of Mercers Chappel in Cheapside and Mrs. A. Baldwin in Warwick Lane—deserve to be recorded. The dates of their publications are 1699 and 1701. At this time Unitarians were everywhere spoken against. Parliament in 1688 had excluded them from the Toleration Act. One Tract against the Trinity published in 1693 by William Freke had been voted by the House of Commons to be a blasphemous libel and ordered to be burnt by the hangman. The Episcopalian clergy, with a few striking exceptions,

¹ *Antitrinitarian Biography*, vol. i., p. 312.

² *Monthly Repository*, iii., p. 302.

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regarded them, in the words of South, as "impious blasphemers," and half a century earlier (1640) the fifth Canon of the Convocation of Canterbury had excommunicated the printers, importers, and readers of Socinian books. The Dissenters in 1697,¹ through their spokesman Dr. Bates, urged the King to forbid the printing of Socinian works, and next year the Commons besought him to suppress all books denying the doctrine of the Trinity or any other fundamental article of faith. The same session an Act was passed prohibiting all such publications.² Any person found writing, printing, teaching, or preaching against the doctrine of the Trinity was condemned to lose nearly all the privileges of citizenship, was disabled for ever from holding any public office, and was to be imprisoned for three years without bail. That this, in the main, was a dead letter is shown by the continued issue of the Unitarian Tracts, but the disposition of the ecclesiastical authorities is manifested in the treatment of John Smith, a humble clock-maker, whose *Designed End to the Socinian Controversy* was published under his own name in 1695. He was brought before the Spiritual Court, and compelled to retract his opinions. His book was suppressed so completely that it was almost unknown until 1793, when it was accidentally discovered by Michael Dodson and reprinted by the Unitarian Society. The identity of Smith and the procedure in Court were not made clear until 1816. To J. S., otherwise John Smith, the fourth Tract in the Second Collection was dedicated in 1693, and probably Smith's persecution and recantation accounts for the non-inclusion of his Tract in the Collections. Such was the frenzy into which the champions of orthodoxy had

¹ See Article, *The Press in 1697*; *The Christian Life*, March 4, 1922.

² Act for the more effectual suppressing of Blasphemy and Profaneness, 9 and 10 W. III., *cap.* 32.

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been thrown by the Unitarian propaganda, and, in particular, by the Unitarian Tracts. The absence of any notification in the first three volumes of Tracts of the authors, printers, or place of publication is due, however, not only to the penalties to which those responsible for them were exposed, but also to the determination of Firmin and Nye to carry on their propaganda clandestinely within the Anglican Church. After Firmin's death, with the issue of the Fourth and Fifth Collections a bolder policy seems to have been pursued, in which two women may be said to have taken a lowly but perilous part.

It is clear from what has been said that vols. iv. and v. did not form part of the plan of those who fathered the first three volumes, and did not proceed from the same press. None the less, the titles of the last two Collections, the character of the Tracts therein, and, in certain cases, the authorship, prove that the five volumes were intended to constitute a series of related works. As Thomas Firmin died December 20, 1697, and as the earliest dated Tract in volume iv. is 1697 and the latest 1703, it is probable that the Fourth and Fifth Collections were not published by his aid, though it is incorrect to say with Burnet¹ that "Mr. Firmin's death put a stop to the printing and spreading of Socinian books." The most that can be said is that the rarity of vols. iv. and v., as compared with the earlier volumes, suggests that the withdrawal of Firmin's financial support led to a smaller edition and a decreased circulation in the case of the last two volumes.

The question of a Sixth Collection remains to be considered. Thomas Rees² mentions two copies of a Sixth Collection. Of the first he gives the Contents, and of the second those not contained in the first, indicating by an asterisk in the list given those that were to be found in both

¹ *History of His Own Time*, book vi.

² Wallace : *Antitrinitarian Biography*, vol. iii., App. xxiii.

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copies. It will be seen that five Tracts were peculiar to one copy and four to the other. Of the twelve Tracts in the complete list six are by Thomas Emlyn, and one of them, *The Vindication of the Worship of Jesus Christ*, occurs in the Fourth Collection. Rees notes that the title "The Sixth Collection of Tracts" is on a MS. title-page, and adds that "probably they were never regularly collected and bound in one vol." This observation would seem to be confirmed by the recurrence of the Emlyn Tract already named. The interest in Emlyn, which led to the collection of his writings by Unitarians, is seen also in the inclusion in vol. iv. of two brief Tracts by him—the *Difference between himself and some Dissenting Ministers of Dublin*, and a *Sober Expostulation with the Gentlemen and Citizens of Mr. Emlyn's Juries in Dublin, concerning their verdict June 14, 1703*, which sentenced him to a year's imprisonment, to be extended until he paid a fine of £1,000, and to other penalties. The fact that Tracts other than those in the five Collections were occasionally bound up with them is shown by one copy of the First Collection and another of the Second in the U.H.M.C. Library. Of six Tracts additional to the First Collection, the titles of which are written in the Table of Contents, three belong to the Second Collection. Of the remaining three, all anonymous, two are attributed to William Freke, and the third, *The Naked Gospel*, by Dr. Arthur Bury (1690), greatly incensed the orthodox disputants in the Trinitarian controversy, one of whom described it as a "Socinian treatise." Firmin is credited with a hand in its publication. The Tract was publicly burnt, and led to its author being deprived of the Rectorship of Lincoln College. Four years later he was reconciled to the Church by the publication of *The Doctrine of the Trinity placed in its due Light*, which was severely handled in the first Tract of the Third Collection. Of the seven anonymous Tracts additional to

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the Second Collection in our unique copy of the same whose titles are also written in the Table of Contents, three are in the Fourth and one in the Fifth Collection. Two of the remaining three are attributed to Freke. Of these one, *A Dialogue concerning the Deity and a brief but clear Confutation of the Trinity*, is certainly his, and its condemnation by the House of Commons has been noted. The second is dated March 6, 1695. The third, *The Decree of the Convocation for burning The Naked Gospel considered* (August 30, 1690), is by James Parkinson, an Oxford tutor expelled from his University for anticlerical opinion, and afterwards, through the influence of Tillotson, appointed headmaster of King Edward's School, Birmingham. It is easy to understand how Tracts afterwards included in the Second Collection might be bound up with the First, and those published in the Fourth and Fifth Collections bound up with the Second, particularly in the latter case, since the series seemed to be complete with the issue of the third volume and the death of Firmin. The presence of *The Naked Gospel* in the one volume, and of the Tract on the Decree burning that pamphlet in the other, is explained by their character and their relation to the controversy of which the Unitarian Tracts formed part. It is important to notice that two of the additional Tracts in the copy of the First Collection under consideration, both attributed to Freke, were also in one copy of Rees' so-called Sixth Collection; that one of the additional Tracts in the Second Collection in question, *The Naked Gospel*, was in the other copy of Rees' Sixth volume; and that the Tract in this Second Collection, undoubtedly written by Freke, was in both copies of the Sixth Collection so-called. Freke's popularity with subscribers to the Unitarian Tracts and his omission from the list of contributors to them calls for comment. William Freke (1662-1744) published the Tract which Parliament

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frowned upon in 1693. He himself was fined (May 10, 1694) £500, ordered to make recantation and find security for good behaviour during three years. "In 1709," says Mr. Gordon,¹ "he renounced Arianism, and gave himself out as 'the great Elijah,' a new prophet and 'secretary to the Lord of hosts.'" Apart from the Tract which was condemned, Mr. Gordon in the *D.N.B.* does not credit him with the authorship of any of the Tracts attributed to him in the additions to our copies of the First and Second Collections and contained in the copies of Rees' Sixth Collection. In a subsequent article,² however, he allows him four others: (1) *A Vindication of the Unitarians against a Late Reverend Author on the Trinity*, no title-page or date, but printed in 1690 or 1691, since Sherlock's work referred to was printed (first and second editions) in 1690. (2) *An Answer to Dr. Wallis's Three Letters concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity* (1691). (3) *The Arrian's Vindication of Himself against Dr. Wallis's Fourth Letter on the Trinity*, no title-page or date, but printed about the same time as the preceding since Wallis's *Letter* was printed in 1690. (4) *Remarks on some Late Sermons: and In Particular, on Dr. Sherlock's Sermon at the Temple December 30, 1694*. Of these all except the second are in our unique copies of the First and Second Collections, and they are printed in double columns. The fourth is political and Jacobite in tone, and has little or nothing in common with the other two. Its attack on Tillotson and the Latitudinarians for favouring a policy of comprehension must have rendered it obnoxious to Nye and his friends. It is said to have been attributed to Freke by his contemporaries. There is no doubt that the first and third are from the same pen. Both were written within the period of Freke's Arianism and, on internal evidence, may be

¹ *D.N.B.* : Freke, William.

² *The Christian Life*, vol. xviii., p. 452.

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adjudged his writing. Freke, says Mr. Gordon,¹ "was the first English Arian who placed himself under the hospitable aegis of the Unitarian name." Probably the reason why Freke's theological Tracts were not included in the first Three Collections of Unitarian Tracts must be found in the fact of their advocacy of Arianism, which was repugnant to Nye, and their omission from the more comprehensive Fourth and Fifth Collections may be explained by the circumstance of Freke's mental instability, manifested in his later writings.

THE AUTHORS OF THE TRACTS

The Tract writers, in the opinion of Wallace,² "so effectually preserved their incognito that no clue to their discovery is known to exist." Later, in his article³ on the Rev. Mr. Noual, rector of Tydd St. Giles, near Wisbeach, who died in the summer of 1697 or 1698, he observes, "It is not improbable that Mr. Noual was one of the contributors to the old Unitarian Tracts." This is probably based on Nye's remark,⁴ in his reply to Peter Allix's imputation of Unitarian publications to Mr. N., that "there were no fewer than three Mr. N.'s clergymen, two of them acquaintances of Mr. Firmin," "that neither of the friends of Mr. Firmin were ever in the sentiments of Socinus, though it is true that they disapproved and opposed the Tritheism of some modern writings." Noual is also mentioned by the clerical author of the Tract *The Grounds and Occasions of the Controversy* (1698, vol. v.)⁵ as "a man of piety and learning, who was complained of for omitting those parts of the Liturgy which he came to be persuaded

¹ *Ut supra*.

² *Christian Reformer*, 1845, p. 807.

³ *Antitrinitarian Biography*, iii., pp. 371-2.

⁴ *The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit* (1701), p. 164.

⁵ P. 17.

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against." Noual very probably contributed to the Unitarian Tracts, but what he wrote cannot be identified with certainty. The same may be said of Hedworth, already named, a friend of Firmin, Nye, Gilbert Clerke, and Christopher Crell, the Polish exile. Henry Hedworth (1626-1705) is suspected by Mr. Gordon¹ of having been an officer in the Parliamentary army from the title of Captain sometimes given him. He was the author of two anonymous Tracts against the Quakers, and is described by William Penn in one of his replies as "a meek and impartial Socinian." Wallace² rejects on good grounds the attribution to John Locke and Sir Isaac Newton of any share in the first three volumes of Tracts. Tradition assigned to the former Tract vi. in the Third Collection—a defence of Locke's *Reasonableness of Christianity*—and to the latter Tract v. in the First Collection and Tract iii. of the Second, entitled respectively *The Acts of Great Athanasius* and *An Examination of the Principal Texts usually alleged for the divinity of our Saviour*.

It is interesting to compare the MS. notes in the four sets of the first three Collections in the Summerville Library. Of these one set was formerly in the Library of Mosley Street Chapel, Manchester, afterwards the Upper Brook Street Free Church. A former owner was Theophilus Lobb, M.D. (1678-1763), son of a prominent Nonconformist divine, who was himself in the ministry for thirty years. The second set was formerly in the libraries of Drs. Lant and P. P. Carpenter. The third set once belonged to the Rev. Wm. Hawkes (1759-1820) and then to the Rev. Russell Lant Carpenter, and the fourth set was at one time the property of the Royal Society, London. Nowhere is any Tract attributed to Sir Isaac Newton, but a former owner of the volumes inscribed by Lant Carpenter,

¹ *The Christian Life*, vol. xviii., p. 399.

² *Antitrinitarian Biography*, i., pp. 304-5.

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following the prevailing traditions, attributed Tract vi. in volume iii. to Locke in the title-page, adding at the foot : " This great man chose this way of publishing his sentiments and confuting Mr. Edwards that he might avoid committing himself personally with so furious and ill-mouthed an opponent." Another scribe is inclined to assign to " the great and good Mr. Locke the letter by a " Person of excellent Learning and Worth " identified with Henry Hedworth, appended to the Brief History in the First Collection. The tradition of Locke's anti-trinitarian opinions, current amongst orthodox and heterodox alike, long preceded the publication of his Commonplace Book in 1829, which confirmed it.

Avoiding mere conjecture, and proceeding from the known to the unknown, we see that in vol. i. John Bidle is credited with the authorship of three Tracts, all of which are reprints. The omission of his *Twofold Catechism* (pub. 1654) was probably due to Nye's objections to its doctrine of the local omnipresence of Deity. In vol. ii. an extract from Chillingworth's famous book *The Religion of Protestants* (published originally 1638) is given under his name. No author's name appears in vol. iii. In the Fourth Collection appears *Mr. Emlin's Case* (1702), followed by *Two Treatises concerning the Trinity and the Divinity of our Blessed Saviour* (1703) namely, *An Humble Inquiry into the Scripture Account of Jesus Christ*, anonymous but written by Emlyn and published in 1702, and *A Resolution of the Objections against the Doctrine of the Trinity*. The appearance of the latter among the Unitarian Tracts is explained in the Preface—" it usually happening that such books as advance any heretical notions (though never so trivial in themselves) do gain a reputation and value with some unthinking people from their being censured, or their author punished; and the first of these books, viz., *An Humble Inquiry*, etc., as well as the author

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of it, having lately met with that fate at Dublin, and thereupon not to be totally suppressed, it was thought advisable by many Orthodox persons, not to suffer it to come abroad alone, but to annex to it an antidote against its infection, which, therefore, you have in the second Tract, entitled *A Resolution of the Objections against the Doctrine of the Trinity*, etc., which contains a general answer to the former, and all books of that nature. He that would see a more particular answer to the said pamphlet may consult Mr. Boyle's Reply to it, or the learned Mr. Nye's *Discourses on the Trinity*, viz. *The Doctrine of the Catholick Church, in Four Letters to a Peer*, and his *Institutions concerning the Trinity, and the Manner of our Saviour's Divinity*, lately published for J. Nutt." The last two were published by Nye under his own name in 1701 and 1703. The preface quoted reveals something of his antipathy to the Arianism of which Emlyn was an advocate. The next Tract in the Fourth Collection is *A sober Expostulation with the Gentlemen and Citizens of Mr. Emlin's Juries*. The remaining Tracts are anonymous. In the Fifth Collection the first Tract, *A Moderate Trinitarian, containing a Description of the Holy Trinity* (1699), is by Daniel Allen, a General Baptist, who shared the heretical views of Matthew Caffyn. The Tract was in the nature of an Irenicon. In the Preface its author observes, "That party of brethen which I have in this ensuing Treatise mainly and especially endeavoured to vindicate, and to propose a medium with, are those which several of my brethren, met in Goswell Street in London in the years 1693 and 1696, did in a printed paper publicly protest against and withdraw from. As for my brethren of Socinus' persuasion concerning Christ, so far as I know their principles, I am very opposite to them in my own thought, yet have I charity for them." Allen aimed at showing "how far the contending parties are agreed in the

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fundamental point of faith in God and Christ." This Tract is said "to have inspired the mediating policy of the Committee" of the General Baptist Assembly in their handling of Caffyn's heresy, which led to what Mr. Gordon calls "the first deliberate and formal endorsement of latitudinarian opinions in the article of the Trinity by the collective authority of any tolerated section of English Dissent."¹ A few years later Allen was associated with Caffyn at a Quarterly Meeting when two orthodox members were excommunicated, and the two men undertook to prove Christ not the true God in public disputation, July 3 and 4, 1699, with some Londoners. For these two particulars I am indebted to the Rev. Alex. Gordon. The Christological opinions of *A Moderate Trinitarian* have much in common with those of other Unitarian Tracts, and in an Appendix Allen replies to a book written by Joseph Taylor—a Baptist divine who sought to make belief in Christ's eternal Deity a term of communion. Probably the anonymous *Letter to a Friend*, by A. B., which follows *A Moderate Trinitarian* and also contraverts the positions of Taylor is also the work of a General Baptist. The inclusion of these Tracts in the Fifth Collection suggests that the last two volumes of Unitarian Tracts were not so closely identified with the Anglican liberal movement as their predecessors, or, at least, that those responsible for their compilation cast their net wider than did Firmin and Nye.

The last Tract in the Fifth Collection is *A Short Historical Essay touching General Councils*, etc. (1705), by Andrew Marvell, which originally formed an Appendix to *Mr. Smirke, Or the Divine in Mode*, published anonymously in 1676 and evoked by the reply of Francis Turner to *The Naked Truth*. The last-named, also published anonymously, in 1675, was the work of Herbert Croft,

¹ D.N.B.: Matthew Caffyn.

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Bishop of Hereford, and pleaded for comprehension and toleration by the abandonment of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds. Croft was not disposed to exempt the early Fathers or Councils from criticism. The former were liable to error, and the latter, whether early or late, might easily have gone astray. He argued for a return to the language of Scripture, deprecated "the intricate impertinences of School-Divinity," and would induce Nonconformists to enter the Church by abating the rigidity of ecclesiastical rites and ceremonies. The replies to *The Naked Truth* opened the Trinitarian controversy. The liberalism of Marvell's *Mr. Smirke* led a former owner of the copy of it in the Summerville Library to scribble in the margin, "The Author seems to be a Socinian." There is, however, no reason to believe that this was the case. As Dr. Gardiner said, "at this date the term Socinianism was applied not, as later, to a certain doctrine on the second person of the Trinity, but rather to a habit of applying reason to questions of revelation which led up to that special doctrine as its most startling result."¹ Marvell died August 18, 1678. Apart from Bidle, Chillingworth, Emlyn, and Marvell, whose Tracts are reprints of earlier publications, Daniel Allen's name is the only one that appears on a title-page of the Unitarian Tracts. *A Short Account of the Life of John Bidle, M.A.*—the first Tract of vol. I.—is said by Anthony Wood, in *Athenae Oxoniensis* (1692), to be "taken from" a Latin Memoir, *Joannis Bidelli (Angli) Acad. Oxoniensis quondam Artium Magistri celeberrimi Vita*, published in three sheets and a half (1682) and attributed by Wood to John Farrington, of the Inner Temple. The writer, who was intimately acquainted with Bidle's manner of life, highly esteemed his character, and displays much sympathy with his theological opinions. To Stephen Nye the Rev. Alex. Gordon ascribes six of the

¹ *D.N.B.*: Falkland.

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anonymous Tracts¹: (1) *The Brief History* (vol. i., 1691). (2) *A Letter of Resolution concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity* (vol. ii.), 1691[?]. (3) *An Accurate Examination . . . occasioned by a Book by Mr. L. Milbourne* (vol. ii., 1692). (4) *Reflections on Two Discourses . . . by Mons Lamothe* (vol. ii., 1693). (5) *Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity . . . occasioned by Four Sermons* (vol. iii., 1694). In the last mentioned the authorship of *The Brief History* and *An Accurate Examination* may be said (p. 28) to be acknowledged, whilst on p. 14 of *Reflections* is a reference to what "I have largely proved at Chap. 3 of the *Answer to Mr. Milbourne* showing that (3) and (4) are from the same pen, and (3) is dedicated to T. F., i.e. Thomas Firmin, the friend of Nye." The Rev. J. H. Colligan adds to these six *The Agreement of the Unitarians with the Catholic Church* (vol. v., 1697), which in style and argument is in harmony with the rest. Several other Tracts seem also to betray Nye's hand. Two Tracts in the First Collection, (a) *Dr. Wallis's Letter touching the Trinity* (no title-page) and (b) *Observations on the Four Letters of Dr. John Wallis* (1691), are proved to be from the one pen by the reference in the latter (p. 13) to the former (p. 2); whilst a passage (p. 9) in the *Considerations on the Explications of the Trinity* (vol. ii., 1693) shows that the writer is the author of the *Observations*, i.e. Nye. The long quotation from Chillingworth's *Religion of Protestants* in the first of these three Tracts may also be said to confirm Nye's authorship, since he was almost certainly responsible for the publication of the excerpt from it as a Tract in the Second Collection. Again, *Some Thoughts upon Dr. Sherlock's Vindication of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity* (vol. i., 1691) has phrases, figurative expressions, and quotations from Socinian writings characteristic of Nye, and a passage like the following reflects his mind:

¹ *D.N.B.*: Stephen Nye.

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"I am neither a Papist, nor a Lutheran, nor a Calvinist, nor a Socinian, etc. I am a Christian, I thank God. I side only with Truth, and take shelter in the bosom of that Catholick Church which stands independently upon anything that goes under the name of a Party." In certain criticisms of Sherlock which form the last section of *The Acts of Great Athanasius* (vol. i., 1690), the writer says, "there is an answer preparing, and almost finished, to everything in his Book." This proves acquaintance with *Some Thoughts upon Dr. Sherlock's Vindication*, which immediately follows. But the arguments used by the author of *The Acts of Great Athanasius* and his reference to the *Brief History* as the work of a Socinian Unitarian disprove Nye's responsibility for the former Tract. It may be added that *The Acts of Great Athanasius* included *Brief Notes on the Creed of St. Athanasius*, said to "have been made by another hand" and originally "printed by themselves." The Notes, which refer incidentally to the *Brief History*, were reported to the Upper House of Convocation by the Prolocutor of the Lower House (December 11, 1689) as "of very dangerous consequence to the Christian religion and the Church of England." In view of the large part played by Nye as author in the First and Second Collections it is not unreasonable to suppose that he wrote more than the one Tract in the Third Collection with which he is credited in the *D.N.B.* by Mr. Gordon. Possibly *A Reply to the Second Defence of the xxviii. Propositions* (1695), with its references to Sherlock, Wallis, and South and its tribute to Tillotson, may be his, and *The Exceptions of Mr. Edwards* (1695) not only quotes Chillingworth, but, like the *Reply*, reveals acquaintance with Socinian writers and a dislike on the part of its author to being identified as one of their number. Nye was anxious to preserve his anonymity, and, in his *Doctrine of the Holy Trinity* (1701) in reply to Peter Allix, indignantly repudiated the authorship

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of *The Judgment of the Fathers* (vol. iii., 1695). This Tract is a counterblast against Bull's famous defence of the Nicene faith, and its authorship is something of a Chinese puzzle. Hunt attributes it to Gilbert Clerke, a theological and mathematical writer of the period, who published a Latin reply to Bull in the same year. The Rev. Alex. Gordon, in his life of Nye, simply states that it is the work of one Smalbroke, adding, in his life of Richard Smalbroke (1672-1749), Bp. of Coventry and Lichfield, that "Thomas Smalbroke, a Socinian writer in 1687, was probably related to the Bishop." Nye himself says that Allix "imputed to him several books that were written not by Mr. N. but by Mr. S.," so that Mr. S. was clearly one of the authors of the Tracts. T., or F., Smalbroke is the name appended to a note in a contemporary hand written on the last page of a copy of the first edition of the *Brief History* (1687) which belonged to a contributor to the *Christian Reformer* in 1845. Numerous typographical and marginal references by the same hand were also found in the same volume. The note in question, with slight verbal discrepancies, forms part of the text (p. 14) of the second edition of the *Brief History* included in the First Collection of Tracts. Wallace, who reports these facts, concludes that the writer of the note was either the author of the *Brief History* or his intimate personal friend, as¹ "it is highly improbable that a person transcribing into his own copy of the first edition of a work the alterations made by the author in a second edition would take the liberty of changing the phraseology. His object would rather be faithfully to insert in his own copy the latest corrections and additions of the author." As the *Brief History* was not written by Smalbroke, we are driven to infer either that Nye sent the note to Smalbroke or that Smalbroke sent it to Nye, and, in any case, its phraseology

¹ *Christian Reformer*, 1845, p. 290.

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was slightly altered when the second edition of the Tract went to press in 1691. But the problem of the mysterious Mr. S. is not yet solved. For some reason, the author of *The Judgment of the Fathers*, attributed to Smalbroke, identified himself with the author of *Considerations . . . occasioned by Four Sermons*, published a year earlier, and by Mr. Gordon and others assigned to Nye. In *The Judgment of the Fathers* (p. 47) he says, alluding to the arguments of the Alogi against the apostolic authorship of the Fourth Gospel, "I have already briefly intimated them in the *Considerations on the Four Sermons of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury*, and on p. 50 of the *Considerations* the arguments mentioned may be found. Now, it is impossible to assign the *Considerations* to Smalbroke unless we are prepared also to credit him in all with four Tracts, for, as I have already shown, the common authorship of the *Considerations*, the *Brief History*, and *An Accurate Examination* is acknowledged in the first mentioned of the three. It seems simplest to suppose that Nye owed something to Smalbroke in the *Brief History*, *An Accurate Examination*, and the *Considerations*, that the reference in *The Judgment of the Fathers* to the *Considerations* was an allusion by Smalbroke in an anonymous writing to another anonymous work by an intimate friend, and that the new note in the second edition of the *Brief History* was a friendly communication from Smalbroke emended by Nye. Probably also, Nye, in attributing "several books" to Mr. S., had in mind not only *The Judgment of the Fathers* and one or two other Tracts, but also Smalbroke's share in providing material for the three we have been discussing.

That several scholars collaborated in the production of some at least of the Tracts is proved by the observations of the contemporary anonymous author of *The Life of Thomas Firmin* (1698), who describes¹ *The Agreement of the*

¹ P. 19.

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Unitarians with the Catholic Church (1697, vol. v.), as "written at the instance (chiefly) of Mr. Firmin," and adds¹: "several learned men, some of them authors in the Socinian (or Unitarian) way, examined the work with the candour and ingenuity that is as necessary in such cases as learning and judgment. Mr. Firmin published it when examined and corrected." *A Defence of the Brief History* (1691, vol. i.) was at one time attributed by Nye to Peter Allix, D.D., and the catalogue in Dr. Williams's Library still credits him with it. Allix was a French Protestant divine who, at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, sought refuge in London and was made Canon of Salisbury in 1690. Amongst other controversial writings he published in 1689 *The Judgment of the Ancient Jewish Church against the Unitarians*, which led Nye to revise his view of the authorship of *A Defence of the Brief History*. The author of *A Defence of the Brief History* declares (p. 50): "If I were not an Unitarian already, his book [Sherlock's *Vindication of the Trinity*] would make me one." In view of these facts, it is impossible to accept the ascription to Allix of *A Defence of the Brief History*, and by none of his biographers is it included amongst his writings. The fact that Nye did not certainly know who wrote the *Defence* of his own *Brief History*, though they were published together in the First Collection of Tracts, suggests that the contributors to the various Collections were far from forming a clique of writers all personally acquainted with each other. But Nye admits² that he knew some of them, and adds that these "were all along known to several gentlemen and to some booksellers." *Trinitarian Scheme of Religion* (1692, vol. ii.) is ascribed to Nye by the catalogue of Dr. Williams's Library. It certainly bears a strong resemblance to the preceding Tract, *Reflections on*

¹ P. 20.

² *The Doctrine of the Holy Trinity*, 1701, p. 164.

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Two Discourses . . . by Mons. Lamoith (1693), generally believed to be his, and that it was the work of a Churchman may be seen from the concluding statement: "We approve of known forms of praising, and praying to God; as also in administering Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Marriage, and the other religious Offices; we like well of the discipline of the Church by Bishops and parochial ministers. . . . For these reasons we communicate with that Church as far as we can, and contribute our interest to favour her against all others who would take the chair." The author of the second of the *Two Letters touching the Trinity and Incarnation* (no title-page), vol. ii., is said (p. 2) to be a Layman, and is, therefore, not Nye. Matthew Tindal¹ (1653-1733), famous as the author of *Christianity as Old as the Creation* (1730), is the author of two Tracts, *A Letter to the Clergy of both Universities concerning the Trinity and the Athanasian Creed* (1694, vol. iii.) and *Reflections on the xxviii. Propositions touching the Doctrine of the Trinity* (1695, vol. iii.). These Tracts are found together, and the second, said to be "by the same hand," contains references to the first. Tindal, the son of a clergyman, was an Oxford man and Fellow of All Souls, was converted to Roman Catholicism in the reign of James, afterwards a Protestant of a rationalist type, and is usually numbered amongst the Deists. In his *Christianity as Old as the Creation* he quotes with approval Nye's explanation of the sun standing still (Josh. x., 12-13) given in his *Discourse concerning Natural and Revealed Christianity* (1696). *An Apology for the Parliament. . . . In Two Letters by different Hands* (1697, vol. iv.) has been credited to William Stephens and Henry Day. William Stephens (1647?-1718) was an Oxford man who became rector of Sutton, Surrey, in 1690, and was notorious as a strong Whig in politics. Henry Day, according to a confession

¹ *Biographica Britannica* and *D.N.B.*

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in the Tract, was a Layman. "A Divine of the Church of England," stated on the title-page to be the author of *The Grounds and Occasions of the Controversy concerning the Unity of God* (1698, vol. v.), is identified by Mr. Gordon in a recent article¹ as "almost certainly Stephen Nye," and in the same article he speaks of *The Agreement of the Unitarians with the Catholic Church* (1697, vol. v.) as written "probably by Nye." But as the author of the first Tract speaks (p. 30) of the second as "by an Unitarian, I know not whom, he being a perfect stranger to me," I find it very difficult to accept Nye's authorship of the first-named Tract. *The Scandal and Folly of the Cross Removed* (1699, vol. v.) is directed against the Deists. Its tone and character are unlike those of the rest of the Tracts, and its place in a *Collection of Tracts relating to the Trinity* can hardly be justified. *The Excellency of Reason* (no title-page, vol. iv.) and *The Excellency of Human Understanding* (1701, vol. iv.) may be by the same hand, but this is quite uncertain. *Platonism Unveiled* (1700, vol. iv.), according to the Preface, is a posthumous and incomplete work. It is a translation from the French. *Le Platonisme Dévoilé*² was the work of M. Souverain, a member of a French Protestant church at Canterbury. Labouring under suspicion of Socinianism, he, with the Rev. Jacques Rondeau, conformed to the Church of England and both were beneficed. Still subject to some degree of persecution, they renounced episcopacy and secured protection from the civil magistrates, September 7, 1797, under the Toleration Act.² The translator observes that the author, who had suffered persecution for his opinions, died before writing the third part, which was to have examined what Divinity the Holy Scriptures attribute to Jesus Christ. Of the rest of the Tracts it is impossible even to conjecture

¹ *The Christian Life*, vol. xlv., p. 279.

² *Monthly Repository*, vol. v., p. 241.

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their authorship. The earliest dated Tract was published in 1691 and the latest in 1703, most of them belonging to the last decade of the seventeenth century.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE TRACTS

As might be expected, the Tract writers pleaded strongly for freedom in the investigation of religious truth. "To prove all things to try the spirits, to search the Scriptures is our wisdom as men, our duty as Christians, our principle and profession as Protestants."¹ Elsewhere the same writer declares²: "Set men at liberty, discharge them of their awes and fears; let the Church preferments be possessed as the rewards of only learning and piety, not of holding these or those opinions and doctrines, and it shall be soon seen how many eyes their liberty would open." To the statement that the whole Christian world was against them, the reply was made³: "In a clash between argument and number, the whole world and all that is great in it when weighed against one argument is as if you had put nothing at all in the scale; Unitarians will certainly abide by it that argument can be repelled by nothing but argument, as diamonds are cut only by diamonds." "Tho' they should write," says another, "in defence of Tritheism as many volumes in folio as there are stars in the firmament or sands on the sea-shore, they will never be able to prove their Tritheism true or possible so long as any Bibles remain in Christendom or Reason continues in use among men."⁴ The Scripture interpreted by reason was the basis of the new movement, and the

¹ *An Exhortation to a Free and Impartial Enquiry*, vol. i.

² *Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity*, 1694, vol. iii., p. 44.

³ *Agreement of the Unitarians with the Catholick Church*, 1697, vol. v., p. 48.

⁴ *A Letter to a Friend*, 1700, vol. v., p. 15.

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Apostles' Creed, as scriptural in its terms, was accepted as authoritative. In Biblical Criticism, the writers, like their Polish fore-runners, were pioneers. The English Version, highly as they esteemed it, was not for them the last word in scholarship. In their use of the available materials for textual criticism, their interpretation of Old Testament prophecy, and their exegesis of disputed texts they pointed the ways students have since agreed to travel. In their emphasis upon the moral as contrasted with the speculative element in religion they were decidedly Modernists. "A good life," said the author of *The Acts of Great Athanasius*,¹ "is of absolute necessity to Salvation, but a right belief (in those points that have always been controverted in the Church of God is in no degree necessary, much less necessary before all things." "The Athanasian Creed is destructive of that love and charity which is the spirit and life of Christianity." The attribution to the victor at Nicæa of the creed which bears his name doubtless coloured the picture of Athanasius himself which is sketched in this Tract. The influence of ancient philosophy upon orthodox theology did not escape notice. "Shall my faith," asks one writer,² "depend upon Plato's Ideas, Aristotle's subtilities, Cartesius his self and mutual consciousness, and metaphysical abstractions more unintelligible to poor mortal men than the tongue of angels?" "The philosophical and cabalistical Creed of Athanasius, may serve the turn of a full dictionary of theological gibberish." Again, "Justin, says the author of *Platonism Unveiled*,³ was the first of the Platonist Fathers that made an hypothesis of a power or manifestation, having altered the idea of the Scripture by the prejudices he brought from the school of Plato." On the changes in meaning of

¹ Vol. i., p. 14.

² *Some Thoughts upon Dr. Sherlock's Vindication*, 1691, vol. i., p. 8.

³ Vol. iv., p. 4.

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ecclesiastical terms during the progress of the ages the same writer observes : " The Church is jealous of certain Terms, and she is a faithful repository ; that is agreed. But, providing one does not meddle with the Terms which she holds sacred and inviolable, one may change with impunity and without giving much trouble to the Church." Several contributors of Tracts attempted to prove that there is no essential difference between the Unitarians and the Church. " The Unitarian says the Terms Trinity and Person are unscriptural, but he, being a man that does no more love to be persecuted than to persecute, easily gets over the unscriptural terms, and accepts them according to the explication of the Catholic Church."¹ Another clergyman speaks of the² " men who have sometimes been distinguished by the name of Unitarians, and by angry adversaries reproachfully called Socinians, but who ought to be numbered with the Orthodox, because they not only embrace the doctrines of the Church of England, but also are content to use her School-terms, which they once thought, and do still think not so fit to express her sound doctrines." In Christology the Tract writers were, in the main, Socinian, regarding Christ as Divine in virtue of his offices, functions, and powers derived from the Father." The Virgin Birth, the Miracles, and the Resurrection of Jesus are accepted without question on scriptural authority, and the worship of Christ was allowed on Socinian principles. Praying to him, for which Scripture proof is declared wanting, is, however, distinguished from invocation " which does not imply a recognition of the essential attributes of the One True God—omniscience, omnipotence, and omnipresence."³ Atonement by Christ

¹ *An Apology for the Parliament*, 1697, vol. iv., p. 21.

² *The Grounds and Occasions of the Controversy*, 1698, vol. v., p. 3.

³ *An Accurate Examination of the Principal Texts*, vol. ii., p. 37.

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was accepted in a particular sense. "Unitarians never denied that Jesus Christ made himself a voluntary sacrifice for our sins. What we deny is this: that this sacrifice was by way of true and proper satisfaction, or full and adequate payment to the justice of God. We say that this sacrifice, as all other sacrifices, was only an oblation to the mercy of God."¹ The nature and meaning of Person and the Unitarian view thereof are discussed, and the Sabellianism of several of the writers is betrayed. "The notion of Person, or of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost in God is not magisterially determined by any authority. Any other notion of the three Persons except that of three minds cannot but seem safe to the Unitarians; it being visibly reconcilable with the Unity of God, whether we conceive them as three relations in the Divine Nature—the Father, the unbegotten or original Wisdom, the Son, the Word, the unbegotten or Reflex Wisdom, the Holy Spirit, the eternal spiration of Divine Love; or the first, Divine Understanding; the second, Divine Goodness; the third, Divine Power."² But the Finite and the Infinite are not to be confused. "The unity of Christ and God the Father is one of Will, Consent, and Love."³

STYLE AND FORM OF THE TRACTS

Many of the Tracts are cast in the conventional epistolary form, and an attempt is made here and there to preserve some appearance of a letter by a greeting or word of explanation at the beginning or end of the Tract. Dr. Wallis's *Letter touching the Doctrine of the Blessed Trinity* had been dedicated to a Friend. Nye, professing to be the

¹ *Considerations on the Explications*, 1694, vol. iii., p. 12.

² *The Scripturalist's Christian Condescension considered*, vol. iv., p. 3.

³ *The Divine Unity once more Asserted*, 1697, vol. iv., p. 12.

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friend in question, opens his reply with "Honoured Sir, I read your letter . . . with a great deal of attention and satisfaction." He then declares that he was convinced by it, but on showing it to a neighbour had his eyes opened to its shortcomings. *The Observations on the Four Letters of Dr. Wallis* begins: "Sir, I thank you for Dr. W.'s three letters, which you brought to my house. You not finding me at home prevented our discussing together of it; therefore I have given you here my thoughts of his performance therein." *Two Letters touching the Trinity and Incarnation* are professedly notes that passed between two cousins—the first is written by an orthodox believer scandalized to hear that his "loving cousin" has fallen into the "horrid heresy of the Socinians or Arians"; the second is the reply which this evokes, and is not only ten times as long as the orthodox epistle but also has a Postscript three times its length. One Tract opens with an expression of regret that "the affairs of the person addressed do not permit him to come again to his correspondent to continue the conference begun some months ago"—hence the letter; and another Tract closes with a request for pardon for having exceeded the usual length of a letter. The request is not altogether superfluous, since the epistle covers, as a matter of fact, thirty-five pages of print in double columns. Passages from the Old and New Testaments in the original tongues, Latin tags, classical allusions and quotations from the Fathers, commentators, philosophers, and controversialists, give more than an appearance of learning to the Tracts. They are lighted up occasionally by gleams of humour and illustrative stories. Speaking of Dr. Wallis, whose sentiments the writers wished to identify with their own, one contributor observes,¹ "If it be below his character and dignity to permit himself to be called a Socinian, the Socinians and Sabellians, in honour of him,

¹ *Observations on the Four Letters of Dr. John Wallis*, p. 10.

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are content to be called Wallisians." Another opponent, who indulged in "towing Metaphysics," is advised to write more intelligibly, "for Learning's light, when held too high, goes out." The appeal by orthodox theologians to Mother Church is met by Nye¹ with the suggestion that it is due to the fact that she makes preferment dependent upon belief in the ecclesiastical doctrines, and that Mother Shipton would be as sacred and infallible to them on the same terms ; that, in fact, the clergy are equally ready to believe in the kingdom of Oberon and the territories of Fairyland. But, he continues, Mother Church is not one and the same in all ages. "She seems to be such a one as the Scots imagined Queen Elizabeth to be : I mean, as uncertain and vivacious. The Scots thought their king should never succeed to the crown of England ; for Q. Elizabeth, say they, is not a particular woman, but the Lords of Council in England call an old woman Queen Elizabeth ; and so long as there is an old woman in England, they shall never want a Queen Elizabeth." The joyful reception of Dr. Sherlock's *Vindication of the Trinity* against the Tract writers is thus described² : "The more ignorant of the Doctors, and the Rectors, and all the young fry of lecturers and readers about Town were his hawkers to cry it about and cry it up." One of Hooker's arguments is stated and met thus.³ He saith as "'tis in the Father, 'tis unbegotten ; as in the Son, 'tis begotten." But do they reckon they have to deal only with fools ? What if I should say, My hand as in my pocket is unscalded, but as in my glove 'tis scalded. Would it not be a contradiction, for all the blind of *in the pocket* and *in the glove* ? The self-same hand in number cannot be burnt and unburnt." John Howe, the celebrated

¹ *An Accurate Examination of the Principal Texts*, p. 7.

² *The Belief of the Athanasian Creed not required* . . . p. 11.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

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Independent divine, is curiously complimented by Nye¹ : “ Well, so many able artists have failed ; we grant he hath seen their mistakes ; after all, will he himself make a coat for the moon ? Will he offer an hypothesis or explication that shall fit the doctrine of the Trinity ? ” The obscurity of orthodox theories is referred to in an allusion to “ Table-talk that the late famous Dr. More makes it part of the definition of religion that it be competently obscure ; and let Mr. Howe and the Dean alone for making good this part of the definition.” The statement of Archbishop Tillotson that “ Christ did industriously conceal the highest sense in which he was the Son of God ” is characterized as “ a most weak conceit, and if Chrysostom was the author of it his Lordship is as much beholden to him as Ajax was to Hector for the sword wherewith he stabbed himself.”² John Gailhard, who pleaded for the persecution of the Unitarians, had said, “ As one depth calleth to another, so an Arminian can easily become a rank Pelagian or Socinian,” to which the answer is made : “ As one shallowness calls to another, so a Calvinist can easily become as wise as the Dominican Inquisitor at Lisbon who at a late Act of Faith burnt an English mare that could tell what o’clock it was by the watch for a heretick.”³ The same writer quotes Gailhard’s statement that “ to the toleration of these two transcendental wickednesses [Papistry and Socinianism] we may chiefly attribute the cause of the heavy chastisements which make the nation uneasy,” and thus interprets it : “ Toleration is the cause of the war with France, of the debasing and ’lipping of the old and the scarcity of the new money ; of the unseasonableness of the weather, of the rot among sheep, and the dearness of mackerel.” Edwards, who excelled in violence of language

¹ *Considerations of the Explications*, p. 39.

² *A Reply to the Second Defence of the xxviii. Propositions*, p. 15.

³ *An Apology for Parliament*.

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during the Trinitarian controversy, is hit off in Plutarch's story "of the strangers from Chios, debauched, lewd fellows, full of wine and madness, who vomited in the court of the Ephors. The Ephors contented themselves with ordering the public criers to proclaim that the gentlemen of Chios should have leave to be as filthy, impudent, and wicked as their wretched base natures should prompt them."¹ Of the results of intolerance the same lively writer remarks, "When one is got into stories, especially by the parlour fire in a Winter evening, there's no end of them; but, if the reader will forgive me, I will punish him but with one more, and it shall be as short as he could wish. Barclay in his *Icon Animarum* tells us of a Father and his two sons who excommunicated the whole world and confined the Church within the narrow pale of their own three elect persons; within a few days the hopeful boys excommunicated the old man, and not long after they excommunicated one another." . . . "If the Church of England should convert or confound the Unitarians, the Quakers, the Presbyterians, the Independents, and every little Philadelphian Society . . . Is all like to be peace at home within her own body? No such matter. The Quinquarticular controversy will set 'em together by the ears among themselves; for want of a bone, the theory of the earth will make a bustle among them, and for aught I know the Royal Society will make some discovery in Nature that may be heresy in Religion."

It remains to be said that the Tract writers were wholly unconscious of being in a false position as members of the Established Church. They protested that they were "no hypocrites," and, though not enthusiastic for the acceptance of formulæ and creeds, were willing to use them (the Athanasian Creed excepted) in the interests of peace. The general opinion of Churchmen, however, was decidedly

¹ *The Grounds and Occasions of the Controversy*, p. 46.

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averse to the recognition of their honesty or their churchmanship, and, fiercely as the Anglican theologians attacked one another's attempts to explain the doctrine of the Trinity, they agreed in a common detestation of the Unitarian scheme. In consequence, the leaven of Liberalism did not work in the Church, and the attempt to establish Unitarian societies or fraternities within the Establishment failed as completely as did Wesley's effort half a century later to set up Methodist societies therein. But whilst in the latter case the logic of events led to the foundation of the great Wesleyan Connexion, in the former the Unitarians, who were largely clerics, quietly ceased their propaganda and the movement died away. When Theophilus Lindsey embraced Unitarian opinions he boldly left the Church (1773). Apparently but for his acceptance for a time of the Sabellianism and ecclesiastical compromise of the Tract writers he might have left at an earlier date, for in his *Apology* he quotes (pp. 212-13) from *Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity* (1693, vol. ii.) sentiments of Dr. Wallis, with which the author of the Tract expressed himself in agreement, in favour of the interpretation of the liturgical formulæ which he then found satisfactory. Mr. Gordon conjectures that the Unitarian Tracts played a part in Lindsey's conversion to Unitarianism, and thinks that from them he derived the term Unitarian, though he used it not in the manner of the Tract writers as a comprehensive term covering all—Arians, Sabellians, and Socinians—who maintained the Unipersonality of Divine Being, but as relating to the practice of worshipping the One True God, the Father. I know of no other influence which the Tracts have exercised within the Church, though there are some curious coincidences between points of doctrine and practice in the Tracts and those of the recent Cambridge Modernists. During the nineteenth and twentieth

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centuries liberal Anglicans have secured again a foothold for progressives in the Church, but the authority of General Councils and the "impositions in matters of Religion" are still maintained as in the seventeenth century. Still it may be that "the end is not yet."

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IT has been said of Joseph Priestley¹ that "his office was that of a pioneer." The statement is true of his work as a journalist not less than as a biblical theologian and ecclesiastical historian. His *Theological Repository* was the first Unitarian periodical in a long and honourable line not quite unbroken, but covering in all a period of more than a century and a half. As will be shown in what follows, Priestley might have made his own the opening words of the editors of the *Hibbert Journal*, written in 1902—a hundred and thirty-three years after he founded his journal—"We shall judge of opinions by the seriousness with which they are held and the fairness and ability with which they are maintained. We propose to practise the doctrine of the open door." . . . "We shall allow the Journal to exhibit the clash of contrary opinions. No attempt will be made to select the views of concordant minds. Rather will controversy be welcomed, our belief being that the encounter of opposites kindles the spark of truth." As its title-page informs, *The Theological Repository* consisted of "Original Essays, Hints, Queries, etc., calculated to promote Religious Knowledge." Considerable stress was laid on the originality of the contribution, and articles submitted deemed lacking in this quality were declined. An exception was made in the case of "translations from foreign publications," even though "not of recent date, because, to our English readers, they will give as much satisfaction as communications that are properly original." It does not appear that such translations found their way into the *Repository* (though quotations from the writings of foreign scholars were not infrequently introduced), but Priestley's attitude towards continental scholarship at this date is in itself an evidence of openness of mind.

¹ Gordon : *Heads of English Unitarian History*, p. 132.

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DATE, FORMAT, DESIGN, AND RECEPTION

The first number of *The Theological Repository* was published on January 2, 1769. It included seventy-four pages, was bound in a blue paper cover, and cost a shilling. The first volume, of 457 pages, comprised six numbers of between seventy-one and eighty-two pages, published at the price named in January, April, June, October, and December. The irregularity in its appearance was intended "to avoid the inconvenience which would necessarily attend a periodical publication," and "to give correspondents sufficient time to consider the contents of each number and make their observations upon it in the succeeding one." Nor was the price intended to be uniform. The numbers were to be "sold for sixpence, one shilling, or more as the materials that are sent in make it necessary."¹ As each publication was to be "advertized in some of the public papers," it was hoped, if purchasers would "give their booksellers a general order for the work," "no great inconvenience would arise from the uncertainty in the time of its coming out." Unfortunately, no large number of subscribers were secured, and the irregularity in publication and fluctuation in price doubtless affected for the worse the circulation of the periodical. Probably this fact determined the fixing of a uniform price of two shillings a number when the *Repository* was revived, after an interval of a dozen years, with the fourth volume. The second volume, published in 1770, consisted of 468 pages, and appeared in four numbers—March, pp. 72, 1/-; June, pp. 118, 1/6; September, pp. 122, 1/6; and December, pp. 156, 2/-. The third volume, of 491 pages (1771-2), was made up of four numbers published in March and September of each year at 1/6 each. The fourth, fifth, and sixth volumes came out in 1784, 1786, and 1788, in numbers issued irregularly at 2/- each.

¹ *T.R.*, vol. i., p. xiv.

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On the title-pages of all the volumes two mottoes from the letters of Paul and Horace denoted the spirit of the enterprise—"πάντα δοκιμάζετε." (1 Thess. v. 21) and "Si quid novisti rectius istis Candidus imperti" (Eps. i. 6, 68). Priestley conceived the plan of the *Theological Repository* on seeing some notes on several passages of Scripture by his friend William Turner, of Wakefield, which he "was concerned to think should be lost." Its pages were "open not only to all denominations of Christians but to persons who disbelieve Christianity," and, with a view to the exercise of the greatest possible freedom, contributors were "rather desired to conceal their names and sign their papers with some particular mark or fictitious name." On the cover of every number contained in the third volume is an Address to the Public of which the following excerpt will suffice to make plain the truly liberal character of Priestley and his coadjutors: "Whatever be the private sentiments and connections of the person who undertakes the direction of it, or his friends who assist him in it, they engage to be absolutely impartial with respect to all the papers they may receive from every party and denomination—Christians or others; all of whom they seriously invite, under the character of Lovers of Truth, to join their endeavours to illustrate one of the most important branches of human knowledge. They will even gladly embrace opportunities of demonstrating that they do not reject anything because they do not approve of the sentiments contained in it." Repeatedly, as his correspondence proves, Priestley expressed his earnest desire to induce learned Arians and opponents of Christianity to contribute to the *Repository*, for he entertained great faith in the value of controversy as a means of eliciting the evidence on any question of theology or philosophy requisite to the formation of a just and impartial conclusion on the same. Orthodox scholars could not be induced to submit their

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theses to the great heresiarch. A few Arians responded to his invitation, but no Deists or infidels. There is, however, no lack of variety of opinion in the *Repository*, and an excellent tone and temper prevail throughout, which was not always the case in eighteenth-century theological discussions.

Amongst those who concurred in the plan of the *Repository* and promised their assistance were Newcome Cappe, of York ; Samuel Clark, of Birmingham ; Andrew Kippis, of Westminster ; Samuel Merivale, of Exeter ; Thomas Scott, of Ipswich ; and William Turner, of Wakefield. In addition, John Aikin, of Warrington Academy, and Richard Price, of Newington Green, lent their names as patrons of the new periodical. Samuel Clark had been Priestley's "sub-tutor" at Daventry Academy, and in the theological discussions there took the side "of heresy, though always with the greatest modesty."¹ Unhappily, he died as the result of a fall from his horse, on December 6, 1769, without, apparently, making any contribution to the *Repository*.² Of the rest, four—Cappe, Merivale, Scott, and Turner—became contributors. Priestley, as he informs us in an advertisement at the end of the first volume, "was in hopes of receiving assistance" from the scholars named "in the direction of the Magazine," but owing "to the distance of their situation" this proved impossible in the case of all but Turner. The first three volumes were published during Priestley's residence in Leeds, and in their production "the director," as he called himself, enjoyed the active co-operation of his friend at Wakefield. The last three volumes, published during Priestley's ministry in Birmingham, came under the supervision of a larger editorial board, or "privy council" as he termed

¹ *Autobiography of Joseph Priestley*, Rutt's ed., i., p. 23.

² Turner: *Lives of Eminent Unitarians*, vol. i., p. 375.

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it, consisting of the following ministers in the district : William Hawkes, Samuel Blyth, Radcliffe Scholefield, John Coates, and John Palmer. "We met," says Priestley, "and drank tea together every fortnight. At this meeting we read all the papers that were sent for *The Theological Repository*." Priestley and his colleagues not only claimed the "right of rejecting whatever was presented to them for publication," but also "the liberty to retrench superfluities in composition and abridge long details of argument, if they judged it necessary,"¹ and the "director" acknowledged his indebtedness to Palmer for "correcting for the press and recomposing articles that seemed to require it." On one occasion, two articles on the Lord's Supper not coming to hand till a third on the same subject was printed off, it was thought unnecessary to print more than two brief extracts from them.

The hostile reception which the *Repository* met with at the hands of orthodox critics may be judged from Priestley's spirited rejoinder, printed on the cover of the third number of volume one, and addressed "To Our Enemies." "Those persons who have been pleased, in so liberal a manner, to favour this work with their censures are desired to be more sparing of their abuse for the present, as the Director foresees they will have increasing provocation ; and he is apprehensive, from the high strain in which some of them have set out, that they will not be able to raise their style in proportion to the occasion there will be for it. If this work continues, so strong a light, he trusts, will be thrown upon certain dark places as will make creatures, of more than one species, very uneasy." That the work should continue was Priestley's wish and resolve, for it was one of his pet schemes, but he could not be persuaded by the advice of friends, nor driven by the attacks of foes, to depart from the liberal principles on

¹ *T.R.*, vol. i., p. x.

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which he had established it. His public invitations to Deists and unbelievers to send in articles provoked the ire of his enemies and estranged his friends, though none accepted the hospitality of his pages despite the fact, as he tells Lindsey, that several were "privately solicited to state the objections to Christianity which had most weight with them." To the statement of Archdeacon Blackburne (Lindsey's father-in-law) that the "invitation to Deists gives great offence and is the cause of the ill success" of the periodical, and to the protest of Lindsey's own circle that "objections to Christianity ought to be answered at the same time that they are proposed" he replies, "The former is essential to the original design of the *Repository*, and the latter is impracticable. . . . If the work cannot be supported on the open and liberal plan proposed in the Introduction to it my name shall no more go along with it."¹ He could, however, ill afford to lose money on the venture, and did not care to be dependent upon the favour of friends. In 1770 he admitted to Lindsey that he would have lost by it but for the assistance of friends. Next year Lindsey's friends were induced to subscribe for copies and save the situation, though Priestley refused to load Lindsey himself "in the unreasonable manner he was so generous as to desire." As he declared in a letter to a contributor, he would have liked to put Dissenting ministers on the "free list," as he "did not like to take their money." A suggestion by Newcome Cappe that the price of the periodical should be raised was met by the remark that "many of our purchasers think it too dear already." The third volume would have cost him £20 had not his friends bought copies to give away. The three volumes bound in boards were sold at 18/-. A reprint of the first volume did not, as was hoped, stimulate the sale of the other two, and before its reissue Priestley confessed to Price that he

¹ Letter to Lindsey, February 4, 1771.

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had lost £50 by the *Repository*. "It was a favourite scheme of mine, but I was obliged to give it over." As William Turner observed in his Preface to an article in the third volume, the times were not propitious for "the commonwealth of sacred literature amidst the distractions of party and politics, and the ravages of dissipation, pleasure, and vanity upon everything serious." Nor was it easy to circulate a journal like the *Repository* in the face of organized opposition. William Willetts, excusing the late appearance of his reply to an article which had appeared, pleads that he "had never been able to procure his number of the *Repository* until above a month after its publication." And a periodical which printed excerpts from biblical texts and versions in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Syriac could make nothing like a popular appeal. In his Conclusion addressed to his readers Priestley made some general observations on the articles inserted, and, acknowledging his own signatures, claimed that he had not "suppressed anything sent to him contrary to the sentiments advanced under these characters. He had even closed the work without taking the opportunity of making any reply to what had been advanced against his particular opinions, because those who had called them in question would not have it in their power to reply again." By the end of 1772 it seemed as though the last had been seen of the short-lived *Theological Repository*. Twelve years later it was revived under rather curious circumstances. In 1783 was established the Society for Promoting the Knowledge of the Scriptures—the first of the Unitarian societies. Its members numbered thirty or forty ministers and laymen, and included Arians as well as Socinians, and one Bishop, Edmund Law. Its object was the "illustration of the Scriptures," and two volumes of Commentaries and Essays were published. Controversial Tracts on doctrinal topics were declined. Priestley joined the Society

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and strove in vain to alter its basis so that articles like those formerly inserted in the *Repository* might be published by it. His failure to effect this object led to the revival of the periodical, though rather as supplementary to the work of the Society than as antagonistic to it. Several of the essays published by the Society formed, indeed, the subjects of articles contributed to the *Repository*, and many of the members of the one wrote for the other. It may, however, be suspected that the existence of the Society claiming support from the small band of liberal theologians in the country assisted in terminating prematurely the life of Priestley's periodical. William Tayleur,¹ of Shrewsbury, had sent a donation of £100 to the Society, and the members, by resolution, intimated their willingness to hand this over to Priestley for the purpose of aiding in the revival of the *Repository* if the proposal met with the approval of the donor. Tayleur generously assented, but Priestley, confident that he would not require it, declined the gift. Finally, Tayleur left the sum in Lindsey's hands to be used at his discretion, and as Priestley's optimism was not justified Lindsey sent him half of it to meet the expenses involved by the *Repository*. In a letter to Tayleur (April 30, 1785) Lindsey observes: "He [Priestley] was much disappointed to find the *Repository* had sold so little—about a hundred of the first number, but none scarcely of the others." Priestley himself told Bretland (April 5, 1785) that "the sale is trifling, hardly sufficient, I believe, to pay for the advertising, but I shall not be discouraged." The Plan of the Magazine, indicated in the Introduction to the fourth volume, was the same as before, and "communications from serious unbelievers," it was stated, would be considered "as of peculiar value." When bidding farewell to the *Repository* in the sixth volume Priestley attributed the lack of response to his repeated

¹ *Letters of Theophilus Lindsey*, p. 3.

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challenges to the fact that there were "few serious unbelievers" and to the "indifference to truth in the generality of them." The opposition which the anonymity of the writers in the periodical evoked upon its reappearance may be illustrated from an outburst by P. Q. R. in the *Gentleman's Magazine*: "Is this the conduct of free, ingenuous inquiry, or is it the art of Jesuitism and the insidious slyness of present Presbyterianism? Will Dr. Priestley set his own name to every sentiment he holds forth in print, and will he invite assassins to stab religion in the dark?" The writer concludes by desiring "to awaken some of the professors of our pure and holy religion to enter the lists in defence of "the faith once delivered to the saints," and to tell the undecided or deluded multitude whether the truth is in Priestley or Jesus."

The support of the *Repository* again proved as weak as the opposition to it was strong. Writing to Caleb Roth-eram (September 23, 1785), Priestley observed: "The *Repository* must not fall a second time, if it can be supported by proper materials and by money. As for materials, I foresee we shall not want, but the sale is so trifling that we must get assistance, at least for the present." An appeal to subscribers for help was circulated, but the result was inadequate. With very great reluctance, Priestley acknowledged his failure. On July 21, 1788, he wrote his farewell address to the public, in which he declared that he discontinued the *Repository* "not for want of proper materials for carrying it on, but on account of the expense attending it," at the same time assuring his friends and the public that "it shall be resumed whenever the sale of the last three volumes shall be such as to give sufficient inducement to do it." The last number was published on August 6, 1788. Any dream that its founder may have entertained of a second resurrection must have been dissipated by the outbreak of the French Revolution with its far-reaching in-

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fluence upon Nonconformists, and especially Unitarians, in England, culminating in the Birmingham riots, July 14, 1791, which ultimately drove Priestley to emigrate to America.

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR ARTICLES

The names of the contributors to the *Theological Repository*, so far as they have been identified, and the authorities for their identification are given in the Appendix.¹ It will be seen that out of forty-one names no fewer than twenty have been deemed worthy of a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. In all, seventy-four signatures have been identified out of a total number of ninety-three. Priestley, as we have seen, divulged his own signatures when publication was suspended in 1772, and again in 1781 when the work came to an end. In the last volume, in an account of John Palmer, lately deceased, he also revealed the signatures of his friend and zealous colleague in the direction of the periodical. Amongst other sources of information mentioned in the Appendix is a list of names of contributors to the first three volumes given by Priestley to Kippis for the purpose of a notice of the work in the *Monthly Review*. Priestley did not know all the writers and had pledged himself in the Introduction to the first volume that "no pains should be taken to trace the authors of any anonymous communications." The concealment of names provided readers with sport and writers with amusement. Even the sober-minded and aged William Tayleur, in a letter to Lindsey, could not resist the temptation to enter into the guessing competition, and, like many others, he failed to hit the mark. In introducing the fourth volume, Priestley remarked, "Our readers will be at liberty to amuse themselves, as before, with conjectures about the writers of the several papers.

¹ See pp. 185 ff.

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But, to check the extreme confidence of some persons, I will inform them that on the former similar occasion the opinions of the most knowing were often wrong, and particularly several papers were almost universally ascribed to myself, in which I had no hand, and the sentiments of which I did not approve." From stray remarks in his letters, and those of others, it would seem that the most daring flights of exegesis and philosophy were commonly attributed to him, and not always rightly, since one of the boldest writers was a clergyman—the Rev. Robert Edward Garnham,¹ of Bury, Suffolk. Garnham (1753–1802) was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and a member of the Society for the Promotion of the Knowledge of the Scriptures. Other radical contributors were the Rev. William Graham, of Halifax, whose article on "Objections to the conduct of the Apostles in their application of Miraculous Powers" evoked two replies from William Turner and William Willetts; ² the Rev. Henry Toulmin, who argued that the Old Testament miracles lacked historical evidence and that Christianity is not dependent upon Judaism; and the Rev. Edward Evanson, who declared that Sabbath observance after the Jewish model was not enjoined by Christ or his Apostles. Priestley was thirty-six years of age when he floated the *Repository*. His chemical labours had only begun in the previous year, but, as Mr. Gordon observes, at this date "he had already advanced further in theological heresy than any contemporary English divine." He was by far the most voluminous writer in his journal, and made use of no fewer than a dozen signatures. His essays frequently ran to a great length. Of the first volume he was responsible for more than one-third, of the second volume for more than one-fourth, of volume three for one-quarter,

¹ *Monthly Repository*, vol. x., p. 13.

² *Cheshire Classes*, ed. Alex. Gordon, p. 214.

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of volume four for three-fifths, and of the last volume for more than one-fifth. Joseph Bretland employed five signatures, John Palmer and Joshua Toulmin four each. There was no lack of contributors ready without fee or reward to air their opinions in the pages of the *Repository*. But the director had his disappointments. Writing to Lindsey (January 12, 1771), he says, "If I had not understood that the Archdeacon [Blackburne] would have procured some remarks on the intermediate state I should not have printed that piece. Tell him it is much admired, and has made several converts, and if he does not give us something on the subject the cause will suffer." The bait offered in the last sentence was not taken. Occasionally unpublished papers of deceased scholars were accepted. In the first volume, thanks to the good offices of Merivale, an article by Walter Moyle (1672-1721), politician and student, on "Marcus Antoninus a Persecutor," was inserted; in the second volume appeared a dissertation on Truth, and another on the Atonement, from the pen of James Dugal (1697-1761), formerly minister at Antrim and Dublin, sent by James Mackay, minister of the First Presbyterian Church, Belfast; and in the third volume there was a letter by Martin Tomkins (d. 1755), one time minister of Stoke Newington, addressed to Nathaniel Lardner, defending the Arian Hypothesis. Not all such papers were admitted, even when associated with great names. An article on the Creation by Lardner sent to Priestley by his executor was declined on the ground that it "did not do the author any credit and contained nothing original." In a letter to William Ashdowne, a Unitarian General Baptist minister, dated April 21, 1786, we see the editor of the *Repository* gracefully returning a proffered contribution. "The papers with which you favoured me were submitted to my privy council, but, though much appreciated, were not thought to be sufficiently original

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or important considering the precarious state of the *Repository*, so that we must, in the first place, make room for things of greatest consequence. We have no wish on any other account to decline the discussion of the question concerning baptism. A short article by an unidentified scribe (Oxoniensis), entitled "An Answer to the Objections against Revelation," found a place in the first volume, though, as a curious footnote informs us, "there is nothing new in it"—the editor having "been induced to oblige the author on account of his benevolence and the generosity of his sentiments." Possibly the brevity of the Answer was in its favour, for a little later another article from the same benevolent source on Future Punishment was briefly summarized in a note as "the arguments have frequently been urged before." The veiling of the writers in the *Repository* permitted Priestley under one name to supplement his article under another and approve his own sentiments as though those of a fellow scribe. John Brekell, writing as Verus, could quote from his own published writing and describe its author as "Another modern writer who speaks a little more home to our present purpose." The situations created were sometimes curious. Speaking of W. W. (William Willetts) in a letter to Lindsey (February 17, 1771), Priestley says, "He is a very ingenious and worthy man of my acquaintance, a Dissenting minister, and has not the least notion that I am Paulinus." Again, writing to Joseph Bretland (October 10, 1785), he says, "Your answer to Moderatus will be inserted in the next number. Photinus, whom you are pleased to compliment, is myself, but I wish to avoid a contest with Moderatus, as he is a neighbour, and people have expected me to answer him." Joshua Toulmin (Mosaicus) replied to his son, Harry (Mathetes), who was shortly to become minister of Chowbent Chapel, and, after emigration to the States in 1793, was appointed, succes-

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sively, Secretary to the State of Kentucky, Judge of the Mississippi Territory, and member of the General Assembly of the State of Alabama. Priestley, addressing the father, wrote (October 6, 1786): "I thank you for your excellent answer to Mathetes," and, referring later to the son, remarked, "I expect great things from him, especially if, as is supposed, he be the writer of a certain article in the *Repository*"—an allusion to another article of his signed Davides. Six months later Mosaicus appears to have learnt, and disclosed to Priestley, the identity of Mathetes. The director replied, "As your son is a most ingenious young man, he must, I think, be satisfied with your answer, and he would do himself credit if, under the same signature, he would frankly acknowledge it. I am glad to hear he is settled at Chowbent, as it is, I believe, an agreeable situation and the congregation very liberal." Priestley regularly used his periodical as a means of submitting his opinions to criticism before embodying them in his published works. Thus an examination of the Pauline letters, written as early as his ministry at Needham (1755–8), was inserted in the *Repository* "in order," he confesses, to its being submitted to the examination of learned Christians." His lengthy discussion of the miraculous conception in volume four was included, against the wishes of Lindsey, in his *History of the Opinions concerning Jesus Christ*, published two years later. Similarly, Gilbert Wakefield, who translated the New Testament in 1792, used the *Repository* in order to exhibit samples of his skill as a translator. As we learn from Lindsey (August 9, 1784), he used his signature of Nepiodidaskulus in a contribution submitted to a meeting of the Society for Promoting the Knowledge of the Scriptures. His Greek is without breathings and accents, for, as Porson declared, "he was as violent against Greek accents as he was against the Trinity." Thomas Amory's

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article in the first volume, written under his well-known *nom de plume* of John Buncl, Esq., sprang out of a conversation at Wakefield with Priestley and Turner. It embodies "reflections on the subject of a future state" in which he differed from the director of the journal. It is introduced with the words: "It is not long since I passed an agreeable evening in W-d with two dissident ministers—Clemens and Vigilus—men of sense and scholars, friends of truth and free inquiry. I could not, however, assent to all that one of these gentlemen [Clemens] said." Joseph Mottershead sent to volume one an Essay on the Death of Christ, written, as he tells us, some time before," which he "had ordered by his will to be printed." He was then eighty-one years of age. He died two years later after a ministry of fifty-four years at Cross Street Chapel, Manchester. Theophilus Lindsey contributed to the first three volumes of the *Repository* under the signature of Patrobas, and to the third volume also as Socrates Scholasticus. He was then Vicar of Catterick, and in the Preface to his first paper describes himself as "a member of the established church," adding that the design of the *Repository* "is highly approved by many of the laity and clergy of the first eminence amongst us." His articles reveal his acceptance of Unitarianism before his withdrawal from the Church, and the article by Socrates Scholasticus is in fact a "Reply to Objections to the Socinian Hypothesis." To the last three volumes, when minister of Essex Street Unitarian Chapel, he made no contribution, partly, no doubt, because he was actively engaged in the work of the Society for the Promotion of the Knowledge of the Scriptures and in other literary work, partly also, I suspect, because he and his friends were, in his own words, "staggered" by the radicalism of some of Priestley's articles. Priestley, indeed, commonly sent his articles to Lindsey for his observations and remarks,

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though these do not appear to have influenced him. Writing to Newcome Cappe (December 2, 1784), Lindsey referred to the papers concerning the inspiration of Moses and Christ: "He was so good as to send me the whole ; but I expressed myself so vehemently against the latter part that he yielded to defer the publication in the first Number, but I apprehend it will be brought forward in the next." Again, in a letter to Tayleur (April 30, 1785) he observes, " Mr. Palmer, Dr. P.'s neighbour and a very worthy man, is so bent on demolishing the miraculous conception as if it were the greatest obstacle to Christianity that I am sure he has contributed to drive on our friend to the attack. I own I am not so set against it myself, notwithstanding the ridiculous absurdities which it has fathered." In reply to an invitation from Priestley to express his opinion of the *Repository*, Tayleur also made his mild protest (December 1784): "Since you allow that some regard should be paid to the prejudices of the weak, you will, perhaps, think it prudent not to push too far any opinion in matters of doubtful speculation which may give pain to many intelligent, as well as many less intelligent but well-meaning Christians." Priestley himself admitted that his views on the miraculous conception and on the natural fallibility and peccability of Christ at first gave great alarm even to his best friends, but he did not retract or conceal them, though ever ready to consider any reasonable objections thereto. In one point—relating to the work of John the Baptist—he expressly confesses his conversion to the views of his friend and colleague, John Palmer.

If we may compare the *Theological Repository* with our modern journals, it may be said to have been a not very happy union of the English *Journal of Theological Studies* with the American *Harvard Theological Review*, being less technical and scholarly than the former and less popular and philosophical than the latter and drawing its writers

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from a much more limited circle than either. Unlike its successors the *Prospective* and *Theological* Reviews, it contains no brilliant philosophical essays like those of Martineau in the one, and no results of historical research resembling the contributions of the Rev. Alexander Gordon to the other. But as a pioneer magazine of biblical research the *Repository* is entitled to respect for its scholarly articles on textual, historical, and exegetical subjects, and it stands to its credit that various writers anticipated modern critical verdicts in the fields of translation and hermeneutics. As an open journal of liberal theological opinion, it also enabled a number of divines and laymen of different schools to exchange their views, and place them before the rather limited public interested therein at a time when religious periodicals were under the domination of dogmatic prejudice and ecclesiastical bias.

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THAT history repeats itself is a statement to which modern historians subscribe with marked reluctance and with grave reservations. None the less a backward look may teach us something. In view of the condition of the ministry to-day in respect of recruits and emoluments, and of the prevailing apathy of the churches which to the surprise of some and to the concern of all has resulted from the Great War, it may be profitable to consider the situation of the churches and ministry towards the close of the war with Napoleon and during the first decade following that world-shaking campaign.

From materials contained in three large volumes of letters in the Library, written, for the most part, by ministers during the first quarter of last century, the picture which follows is faithfully sketched. Many of the letters are of considerable length, as becomes epistles composed when conveyance was costly. Some are even written across to save space, the second script being in red ink to make it easier to decipher. A few are in shorthand, and one even preserves a line or two in Greek of a sort, as though modestly to conceal in a way the request for a loan of money by a penurious divine. Anglicized, the note runs: "Can you lend me 30£ till Midsummer? I have made some new arrangements in housekeeping lately which have made my usual supplies for the present rather inadequate." The language in which the letters are couched sounds quaint in our ears. One minister, congratulating another on his pastoral success, concludes: "May it continue in that condition as long as the constitution of sublunary arrangements admit." For himself, he thinks he "must bid adieu to terrestrial occupations," and he solaces himself with the example of "illustrious Paul" (January 17, 1820). Out of some three hundred letters the most interesting and best written are sixteen by

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two young ladies—sisters, and daughters of the manse—who followed the teaching profession. Their delightful effusions, lightly reflecting their joys and sorrows, contain much entertaining gossip, and stand in strong contrast to the sombre musings of ministerial minds seldom unconcerned with the brevity and uncertainty of this mortal life. Congregations and ministers alike fall under the gentle lash of the ladies. “I fancy some are a little dissatisfied at M—; I am sorry that things are as they are, but there will always be fools in the world, and we cannot mould people exactly as we wish” (April 2, 1819). “We have been twice to hear Mr. S. He reads too slowly with now and then a snapping of a few words. His delivery is to me very unpleasant, and his prayer, although not extempore, very poor.” Of Mr. J., another divine, it is said: “All the conversation between dinner and tea was against public schools and the education of girls. Women, forsooth, are fit only to be slaves of men, to make puddings and pies, and wait upon their precious persons” (January 5, 1818). One sister, describing a letter from the other, says, “It was a precious shilling’s worth [referring to the postage]—written between a yawn, a gape, and a nod, which, I verily believe, had the effect of a compound dose of opium on me, for I slept two hours that night longer than I wished or intended.” A sermon delivered at Dudley, by Mr. L., a convert to Unitarianism, is then outlined at some length. “He retains strong marks of his former mode of preaching—‘My Fellow Sinners, etc.’ He was sometimes so familiar that, in spite of my displeasure, I could not control my risible muscles, and I could hardly excuse his needless distinction between men and women—an error he fell into more than once” (July 3, 1815). In the letters as a whole, proceeding as they do from every part of Great Britain, we have first-hand evidence of the life and labours of the ministers and of the state of the

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churches, given in a way foreign to annual reports, minutes of Committees, balance sheets, *et hoc omne genus*. At this date ministers were more than pastors and preachers. With a few conspicuous exceptions they were also tutors and schoolmasters. Ministerial stipends ranged from £90 to £200 per annum, most being below the latter figure, with here and there a manse in addition. These salaries provided the motive, and the lack of secondary schools the opportunity, for the establishment and maintenance of the ministerial academies, many of them quite small, which flourished in every town throughout the country. The fees paid by pupils varied according to the attainments and prestige of the teachers—day boarders being charged from two guineas per quarter upwards, and full boarders thirty to thirty-five guineas per annum. Amongst the subjects taught were Latin, French, Mathematics, and sometimes Dancing—the whole blessed with much admonition to cultivate a moral and religious life. The prospects of establishing or taking over a school were always carefully weighed in the balance by a minister contemplating removal from one sphere of labour to another. In general the pupils were sons of members of the same religious community as the tutor, but in Liverpool, we are told, “so little does religious prejudice operate that most of Mr. L.’s pupils are sons of parents who attend the Established Church, while Mr. P., a clergyman of the Established Church, takes most of the boys from the dissenting families” (March 10, 1813). Ministerial activities, properly so denominated, did not begin and end on the Sabbath day, though with town congregations these commonly included morning and afternoon service and a lecture in the evening, usually of a popular character. To say nothing of pastoral visitation, marriages, funerals, baptisms, and the like, the practice of catechizing children on the contents of the scriptures, not yet quite extinct in

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Wales, was largely followed in English chapels a century ago. "The boys of our society," runs a typical note (June 12, 1818), "I catechize on the Monday evening, and the girls on the Tuesday evening, during the Spring and Summer." The selection of long days and light nights for such gatherings was dictated, of course, by considerations of light, travel, and weather. Week-evening lectures on religious subjects were also given from time to time by many ministers to audiences possessing few means of intellectual culture and considerable interest in biblical and theological topics. Occasionally the garden attached to the manse was made a means of income. One congregation reported to its minister-elect: "A part of the piece of ground in front of your house is engaged for you, and planted with peas, beans, potatoes, etc., which I hope you will approve and find useful" (May 10, 1805). Mention is made by two clerical correspondents of the swarming of their bees. Unhappily, despite all a minister might do, a meagre income sometimes involved compulsory celibacy, and we read of a minister at Hull anxious to attain to matrimonial bliss abandoning his charge and turning stockbroker !

Affairs of the heart had much to answer for. Of one Scottish minister, who had recently become engaged to a lady member of his congregation, it is said: "In the pulpit he is constantly losing his place, blushing and stammering at the time. His spirits are high, though not his stipend (£90)," and when the lady took her seat in the pew the morning after his proposal was accepted, "before B. got up to give us the sermon he kept us waiting for two minutes while he placed his pretty curls, his bib, and his gown *in statu quo* that nothing might be wanting to complete the conquest over her heart" (January 1, 1820). Earlier than this we hear of a Welsh minister, "unhinged by a disappointment in love, about to remove from Oldbury and

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seek an asylum among the mountains of the Principality" (December 2, 1809). Small congregations were the rule rather than the exception. St. Albans is described by its minister as "a very small flock, for which any name almost would be as appropriate as that of congregation" (January 15, 1820). The zeal of liberal Dissenters was often proportionate to their numbers. "Yeovil is a very unpromising station for Unitarianism. The hearers of this heresy are there but few in number, and a lukewarm spirit too much prevails" (December 13, 1821). Of Palgrave, lately the scene of the ministry of Mr. Barbauld, the husband of the poetess, its pastor writes: "You know enough of my present flock to be aware that its members have been accustomed to do things gently and quietly for so long a time that it will not do to hurry them too much, or to crowd too many things on their attention at once" (May 26, 1815). "If," wails a Norfolk minister, "only half the zeal animated those who embrace Unitarianism which is shown for the Calvinist system we should not be subject to the stigma which now attaches to us" (November 13, 1812). The fidelity of a flock to its own little Bethel, and its reluctance to follow even its own pastor to a neighbouring chapel, is hit off in the remark of a Moretonhampstead lady that "some of our congregation are more attached to the walls of the Meeting House than to the minister." The splendid isolation of Dissenters, contemptuously ostracized by the pillars and adherents of Church and State, and Meeting Houses with no pretensions, made little appeal to the aspirant for worldly honours or to the lover of the beautiful. Apologizing for the absence of his wife from service, a Wolverhampton layman observes, "I have had for years many opportunities of discovering that persons who are in the habit of attending a splendid Church or Chapel do not like to descend to so humble a place as ours" (June 19, 1830). It is reported

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that the chief singer of a village chapel "had followed the example of his betters and preferred the good things of the Church to the honour of chanting a stave for nothing among non-cons." Music, indeed, was by no means held in honour of our forefathers. It was preaching that was all important. The severe Presbyterian tradition died hard. When the Meeting House at Exeter resolved to have an organ, two of the "principal members so strongly objected to it as to talk of leaving the society." "The people," adds our ministerial informant, "ought surely to hesitate" (December 2, 1809). Another divine, narrating an improvement in the singing at his chapel, sorrowfully remarks that "some attend chiefly to have their ears gratified with the sounds of music" (August 8, 1808). The type of organ in use is described by the officers of a Lancashire congregation: "We wish to have two barrels containing twenty or thirty tunes, that we may not always be dependent upon the caprices and whims of our organist, and when a player is not to be had that we may not want music altogether." The Clerk was still a personage of importance, with a general oversight of the musical part of the service and of all matters relating to the comfort of the minister. The sudden death of the Bridport Clerk in the vestry before service is related by the minister, who concludes: "He was, you know, as it were eyes to me, and I deeply feel the loss of him" (February 25, 1812). The vestry appears to have been used not only by Minister and Clerk, but also, occasionally, by convalescent members of the congregation during service, probably for reasons of comfort as well as privacy, since straight-backed wooden pews were a somewhat violent contrast to the sick-bed. The Hymn-books in use included the collections known as Kippis's, Cappe's, the Birmingham, and the Salisbury books. One who had a hand in the compiling of the Liverpool Collection wrote: "I am glad you approve

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the result of our labours, although I am of opinion with many others that we are a little overdone with publications of the kind, and particularly as such deplorable bad taste is too frequently exhibited in them." One controversial question of our time—that of the name of the chapel—had apparently not arisen. Congregations in general proudly retained their ancient titles. In official documents we read of The Protestant Dissenting Congregation of ———, or of The ——— Presbyterian Chapel. Less formally the chapel is spoken of as "The Meeting House" or "The Meeting," and the congregation as "The Society," sometimes further defined by the addition of the words "of Rational Dissenters." The government of the societies was often far from democratic, and we actually hear of a minister at Coventry dismissed, and the chapel closed, without reference to the wishes of the members of the congregation. "The quarrel," it is said, "turned upon this point—the Trustees claiming the sole management of the affairs of the Meeting, saying the congregation had nothing to do but pay their subscriptions to them. I am glad Mr. D. did not take possession by violence of the pulpit from which he was excluded. It is singular that the congregation was not consulted about dismissing him, and yet are called upon to subscribe to make up the sum given him for resigning. The conduct of the Trustees was highly reprehensive in shutting up the Meeting" (October 7, 1822). The dispute appears to have been one of long standing, for as early as April 23, 1819, several members "resolved to secede from the Great Meeting rather than submit to certain powers recently assumed by the Trustees, or as an alternative to appeal to the courts of law." The chapel was actually closed three months before the congregation and Trustees came to terms. In Liverpool, one minister, who resigned his pulpit, says he did so "in consequence of a paper handed from house to house,"

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which he declares was "the act of certain Proprietors, who expected to sell their respective property by securing a new and young preacher. To mark my disapprobation of their conduct, I quitted the pulpit without the ceremony of a farewell sermon" (July 6, 1818). Another minister says he was "obliged to tell some of my principal people to their faces a few months ago that I found it was absolutely necessary for me to offend the Creator or them, and, whatever they might say or do, I would infinitely rather incur their displeasure than His" (January 17, 1823). Occasionally, coolness between a congregation and its head turned on trifles. A minister says of the brother at Stockport: "I am sorry to find that some of his hearers have begun 'to judge of him from his outward appearance.' The consequence is that they wish a change" (April 11, 1818). Reasons alleged by a minister, anxious to effect another settlement, are critically examined by a layman: "The argument of 'extended influence' is very imposing, but as delusive as high-sounding terms in general are. If the abilities of man were unlimited—I mean, capable of infinite extension and operation—there might be some weight in it. But, confined as his powers are, there are few situations that do not afford him sufficient room for their exercise. The plea of 'increasing the sources of income' is, I think, the only fair one that can, in general, be urged, because it is a duty ministers owe to themselves and their family to attend to it, but there are cases when it cannot with consistency be immediately embraced and modes of attending to it that are wrong" (December 1, 1804).

One reason for the attenuated condition of many congregations was the theological controversies which raged or smouldered, as the case might be, amongst their members. The influence of Priestley and Belsham, though wide and deep, was not universal. Amongst friends and admirers

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Belsham is "our Unitarian Bishop" or "our Unitarian Apostle," but others cannot away with him and his teaching. One letter-writer bitterly resented his references in prayer to "our weaker brethren" (meaning Arian and orthodox hearers of the word), and still more the implication of his phrase "we, thy rational servants." Arianism was, in fact, by no means dead at this date, and the more discreet divines contrived to preserve at least the appearance of harmony amongst their flocks by steadfastly avoiding all speculative and doctrinal subjects in their preaching. One candidate for a pulpit thus expresses himself: "I apprehend that Arians and Unitarians may harmonize in the true spirit of Christianity, and with relation to metaphysical disquisitions I have never thought fit to introduce them into the pulpit. The doctrines of necessity, soul sleeping, and the year, the month, the day appointed for the end of the world I consider unprofitable subjects" (February 24, 1813). But, alas, even this proceeding was not without its peculiar danger. It not infrequently happened, as our records show, that a cautious minister of Unitarian opinions was followed by one of militant orthodox views, who carried over to his camp a congregation blissfully ignorant of their late leader's theological predilections. This it is which accounts for the singular phenomenon of certain congregations, now reckoned Independent, which in earlier days enjoyed, though they knew it not, the ministrations of Unitarian preachers. "You refer," says one minister to another, "to some respectable ministers who thought it right never to introduce controversial subjects into the pulpits. I have known such, and in consequence of it their people in general become unsettled in religious opinions, which eventually has been favourable to the cause of the orthodox. This is the case particularly with Mr. Follett's society at Tiverton. That worthy man never preached upon any

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but general practical subjects, and the people, after attending his services for nearly fifty years, chose a high Calvinist for his successor" (December 11, 1813). Belsham himself writes a little later (December 15, 1822) to a would-be candidate for a Liverpool pulpit: "My suspicion is that the old and wealthy are Arian indifferents, and would like to have a minister who would preach seriously, compose elegantly, possess a graceful elocution, give them no trouble about doctrines or politics, and who would associate with them as a gentleman. The younger members of the congregation I presume to be enlightened, zealous, active Unitarians." That militant, dogmatic Unitarianism was not welcomed everywhere, even when it attracted large congregations, is shown by a Liverpool layman's description of a popular preacher and his style: "It is really surprising to see the crowded state of our chapel every Sunday evening. Many hundreds last Sunday went away unable to obtain entrance, the vestries being also filled. I dislike much railing for railing. . . . When will the world be wise enough to walk without leading strings? Till this is the case men must be amused with rattles and gilt gingerbread" (January 29, 1821). When the attractive orator had been removed the same writer says: "Matters are coming to a crisis in this County which is now divided into two factions. At the head of one party stands 'my amiable friend' our late 'able and active minister,' and their object seems to be to bring all the old ministers in the County into contempt. The organ of this faction is the C—R—, which is as impudent and scurrilous as the most ardent Unitarian (for we are unworthy the name) can desire. But no one will trust money in their hands—this being 'the sinews of war' they cannot do without" (August 23, 1822). A well-known minister, whilst a student at Glasgow, thus describes the Unitarian preaching in that city: "They never hear from the

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pulpit any lessons of practical morality. Doctrine, Doctrine, Doctrine, one Sunday after another, till one feels a disrelish for the subject and the ear tingles with the sound of Unitarianism" (January 21, 1822). Where, as at Kenilworth, the Calvinist and Unitarian parties were almost equally balanced, the selection of a minister was an occasion for strife and his settlement of secession. A couple of letters from one of the Trustees brings the situation vividly before us: "I think a short delay in making an appointment may be prudent, as some of the other party seem inclined to retire from the field. This would be very useful to us, and add to our strength by diminishing theirs" (April 23, 1817). This expectation was not gratified. Five months later the same correspondent writes: "Our opponents are very resolute and will not come to any terms with us. Nothing but downright complete Calvinism will satisfy them. As to the chapel, as we are four Trustees out of six, we may elect a minister to that, but as the Trustees of the estate are only four, divided two and two, this part of the business is more difficult. The deed of endowment gives it to the minister of the 'Presbyterian Congregation' here, but the donor also directs that the children in the school shall be instructed in the Assembly's Catechism. On this our opponents lay much stress as declaratory of the Calvinism of the donor. The Deed is dated 1716, and therefore there is little doubt of the donor's creed." A minister who changed his opinions in one direction or the other usually set a torch to the combustible materials in his pews. Lively scenes ensued. We read of a "dismissed and excluded minister entering the chapel at midnight, changing the locks on the doors, smoking his pipe and drinking his grog in what is called the Table Pew" (March 21, 1818). This was bad enough. There was only one thing worse. The disputants might go to law. At Wolverhampton,

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where a Unitarian minister turned Trinitarian, the right of the orthodox minority to hold the chapel was finally secured. The property was worth £1,400, and, as the legal expenses came to double that amount, to meet the costs of litigation the chapel was sold, and both parties to the suit had in addition to pay a handsome sum. The conduct of the converted divine is roundly condemned by his late brethren of the Unitarian persuasion. "S. refuses to give up the keys of the Meeting to the Trustees, and is acting the part of an infernal villain. On his return from the Oldbury Lecture he told Mr. B. that he had been hearing a parcel of lies. He represents Unitarians as a set of profane wretches and drunkards, and equally indifferent to religion and morality. There's a chicken for you. . . . He has been consulting with David Smith about the best means of securing the place for the Baptists." Collections were taken up in Unitarian chapels throughout the country in defence of the rights of their co-religionists at Wolverhampton. The prevalent opinions of Priestley's disciples is reflected in two letters by converts from Unitarianism. The first was written to a Unitarian minister by his brother, then a student for holy orders at St. John's, Cambridge: "Yes, I do think of Price, Priestley, and Wakefield, and shudder—the turbulent, political, aspiring sons of Arius and Socinus" (April 15, 1804). The second came from the son of a late Unitarian minister of forty-five years' standing: "I prefer Unitarianism to Deism, but it is only that people may follow up the retrograde motion and be brought from Unitarianism to Arianism, and from Arianism to a belief in the proper Atonement of Christ. 'Said the Devil to a Tinker, How black you be' is a very vulgar saying, but it always occurs to me when I hear Unitarians abusing unbelievers or semi-unbelievers" (September 5, 1816). A country minister, perplexed by the Christological problems under discussion, cried, "A

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plague on both your houses. The truth is, that after being grievously disappointed by all the writers I have consulted on the subject I am now utterly hopeless of meeting with anything perfectly satisfactory on so profound a mystery. Absolute certainty I readily believe the Apostles of Jesus, were they now to be personally consulted, would not be able to afford me" (November 4, 1823). Apparently, in Manchester the transition from Arianism to Unitarianism of the Priestley type caused no decline in the attendance. "The congregation in Cross Street, where Dr. Barnes preached with so much acceptance, is quite as large as it was when the walls rung with anathemas against Unitarianism. Mr. Grundy is laid aside by an injury which his lungs sustained from his great exertions in delivering, to most crowded audiences, a course of doctrinal lectures during the last winter. Mr. Robberds is a pleasing preacher much liked by his congregation. He is not sufficiently scriptural and evangelical to suit my taste. He seems fond of pretty speculations" (November 3, 1813). John Grundy (1782-1843) was minister of Cross Street Chapel 1818-24. His Lectures were published in 1812. They were said "to have created in the town such a religious ferment as it had never known before. 'Grundy and no devil for ever' was chalked on the walls of his Meeting-house." It was an intemperate speech by George Harris at the public dinner given in Grundy's honour August 14, 1824) when he was about to leave Manchester for Liverpool that led to the Manchester Socinian Controversy and the subsequent Lady Hewley suit so disastrous to Unitarians.¹ John Gooch Robberds (1789-1854) was minister at Cross Street 1811-54, and a member of the staff of Manchester College 1840-57.

Organization, or the want of it, amongst Unitarians at this date gave rise to much clerical animadversion. "What-

¹ See p. 134.

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ever may be the best constitution of the Christian Church, I feel sure," says one critic, "that we have neither adopted nor advocated it. Love of power among Dissenters is as great and often as injudicious among Dissenters as amongst other religious denominations" (April 11, 1818). An ex-Anglican clergyman goes further in his picturesque description of the community of his adoption: "Dissenting societies I have always found to be like the sea in action, enticing the traveller to embark and promising him an unruffled passage, but scarcely is he out of the sight of the shore than the surges begin to roll, the tide reverts, the winds rage, the heavens are enveloped in clouds, and a storm arises which he can scarcely flee from without affording a place for the most scandalous aspersions upon his character, or, if he attempts to weather it, he is in danger of suffering most disastrous shipwreck. I know not how you gentlemen who have been brought up in the school of nonconformity manage to keep on terms with your people; I confess I have not been able to discover any means by which I could effect so desirable a blessing in consistence with the allegiance which I owe to the great Head of the Church and to that infinitely greater Being who is over all-blessed for evermore" (January 17, 1820). Other ministers, at home in Dissent, contrived to live at peace with their congregations, and lengthy ministries were much more common at the beginning than at the end of the nineteenth century. Pulpit exchanges were few and far between. The supplying of a vacant pulpit was difficult, and the expense incurred in hearing candidates very considerable. Hence careful inquiries were made before a minister was brought any distance for a hearing. These were addressed to neighbouring ministers presumably acquainted with the needs of the shepherdless flock and to eminent ecclesiastics like Belsham supposed, in some quarters, to be omniscient as to the doctrine and dis-

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cipline of ministers and congregations. The points upon which information was sought are enumerated as "Health, Talents, and Character"—the first including age, and the last doctrinal opinions as well as moral qualities. Whenever vacancies occurred and candidates presented themselves the news spread mysteriously amongst the ministerial brethren. A leading layman on making this discovery was led to declare, "I must conclude you ministers have a police of your own." The word "police" is significant. The date is April 21, 1814. The allusion is to the secret service that spied on letters, and watched the movements of liberal dissenters at this time. Occasionally a minister interested in promoting the welfare of a friend would take the initiative after this manner: "Since Providence has thought fit to remove your worthy minister from his labours among you in this world to enjoy the fruit of them in another, you must be naturally led to cast your eye about on all around you, and fix on some one you should think worthy to succeed so great and so good a man." If the Trustees did not appoint the minister, the election proceeded after the fashion described in the appointment of a colleague to a Birmingham minister—a dual ministry being quite common during this period. "About a hundred subscribers remained after morning service, besides about forty-two who retired upstairs having no vote. An unanimous invitation to Mr. F. was agreed upon, besides other expressions of the high esteem in which they held the services of Mr. K., and hoping their choice would not only have his concurrence but contribute to his personal comfort and be beneficial to them as a Society. A deputation of six gentlemen were appointed to wait upon him with the resolution, and to draw up an invitation to be laid before the subscribers at an adjourned meeting next Sunday for their approbation and signatures" (December 4, 1815). The written call to a minister with its appended

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signatures seems to have been a relic of an older past, and is still preserved in the Presbyterian Church. Occasionally, at least, the resignation of a minister was also acknowledged by a formal letter signed by the members of the congregation. A call to the ministry at Dudley (December 2, 1804) was signed by sixty-seven persons, and the resignation next month of the minister in question was signed by twenty-two members of one of the two congregations at Moretonhampstead which he had served. Even a request to the minister to summon a "meeting of the congregation for the forming of a Christian Fellowship Society" is signed by those interested, numbering twenty-four. (February 1, 1819). A minister seeking a post in 1819 records that the following congregations are vacant: "Wolverhampton, Stafford, Newcastle-under-Lyme, Stone, Tamworth, Coventry, Rochester, Rivington, Walmsley, and Gainsborough." In the absence of ministers laymen frequently supplied with more or less acceptance. "A young man of Stourbridge has preached for us frequently lately, but he is not acceptable, and another of the name of Mercer comes occasionally, but with no better success, and his delivery is particularly heavy" (January 30, 1805). Next year the writer is better pleased with lay efforts. "Your flock are doing well as they can be expected to do without a shepherd. Some of the young men have, very much to their credit, by turns conducted the worship, and read a sermon regularly forenoon and afternoon. A set of prayers would be very acceptable." When Richard Wright, the Unitarian Missionary, was on his travels slumberers were awakened. "He caused no little stir in the Town, both among the Church people and the orthodox Dissenters. The Sunday after we were attacked with the whole artillery of denunciation and anathema from every pulpit in the Town." Another convert, settled at Dorchester, occasionally

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preached at Bridport. "Mr. T., being very popular, always fills the chapel, and has been instrumental in directing the attention of many of the common people to the subject of the Divine Unity. Being very Methodistical in manner he is well calculated to be an Unitarian missionary" (December 11, 1813).

The friendship of pastor and people was cemented by an admirable custom observed in connection with the Annual Charity Sermons for the benefit of the Sunday Schools. The preacher on such occasions was usually invited to bring his wife along with him and stay for several days with one of the principal members of the chapel at which he was to officiate. In this way intimate relations sprang up between ministerial and lay families in different parts of the country. At these school festivals the sermon was a matter of moment, but not necessarily new in every part. One preacher confesses that when he has reached his destination, "and is acquainted with the nature of the Charity," he "will tack a tail to an old sermon and pass it off as well as he can." Not infrequently a hint was given as to the type of discourse desired. "We generally have on these occasions a considerable number of respectable persons of almost all denominations of religious societies in this Town and neighbourhood, the high and the moderate both in religion and politics, which circumstance I mention to enable you to form an opinion on what will be most suitable for your composition" (May 10, 1805). These sermons were not always delivered on a Sunday. "The Charity Sermon," writes the minister of Newport, I. of W., "can be preached any day of the week that will be convenient to you. I preached last year on a Friday" (June 3, 1820). Nothing less than a formal resolution of thanks to the visiting preacher was deemed worthy by some congregations of the services rendered. Recompense, indeed, sometimes took the form of gifts in kind, and one divine was

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so much appreciated that he was presented with "a red morocco desk," which he afterwards bequeathed to the minister whose flock showed such unwonted appreciation.

Travel at this time was even more of an adventure than in these days of coal strikes. What would be now a good day's journey is called an "expedition performed by coaches—inside and out, on horseback, and many miles on foot, with a man carrying the saddle bags." The writer regrets that as he only spent eleven days on the journey he "had scarcely leisure to observe and admire the beauties of the fine country through which he passed." An account of a coach accident brings vividly before us one of the perils of the road." "After changing horses at Glastonbury, and setting off at a brisk pace, in the middle of the town we met a gig and waggon. Fortunately, both escaped us by the coachman drawing up hastily his horses, in doing which, however, he completely overturned our vehicle. Mr. H. received some internal injury, the driver met with several blows on head and legs, and a young Welshman by my side received a severe blow near the temple, which rendered him totally unconscious" (August 23, 1818). A minister, apologizing for the non-fulfilment of an engagement, writes: "My daughter and I were thrown out of our Chaise by the horse taking fright." (August 9, 1824). It was this kind of thing which led one divine to exclaim: "Were only balloons brought to perfection, I would certainly take a ride to your neighbourhood to attend your pleasant meetings." Footpads still infested the country roads, and we read of one of the members of a congregation returning from market under the influence of liquor being robbed and murdered. Most ministers kept a horse and not a few a chaise. A journey by sea was a lengthy and uncomfortable proceeding. A young man relates his experiences of a nine weeks' voyage to New York (September 5, 1818), which was not made any the

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more agreeable by the fact that, prior to embarkation, he discovered that his clothes had been stolen from the canal boat by which they were being conveyed to Birmingham *en route* for Liverpool. This English visitor was greatly struck by the number of artizan emigrants constantly arriving in the States, and observes: "mechanics that cannot pass the custom-houses in England go to France, and then ship to this country." The great war made gaps in the ranks of chapel members. Young men went into the army or navy, and young women married military men and left the Meeting House in which their parents worshipped. An anxious pastor tells of three daughters of a great man married to officers of Wellington's army in Portugal, and concludes: "Nothing will go down with the fashionable ladies in this neighbourhood but a red-coat. There was a time when a black one was in vogue, but that is now quite out of fashion" (March 9, 1810). Political allusions in our correspondence are numerous. Buonaparte was a greater bugbear than Wilhelm at his worst. But Unitarians had little sympathy for the tyrannical Bourbons, no love of the high-handed reactionary methods of the British Government, and but scanty respect for him that sat upon the throne. Writing December 13, 1803, a West of England minister expresses his surprise and disgust at certain "loyal effusions" respecting the "illustrious personage on the British throne" by ministers in London. "True loyalty appears to me to consist in cool, steady endeavours to make the Constitution in practice, what it is in theory, a most excellent form of government, and in heartily uniting to repel any foreign interference; but it does not follow that we are to shut our eyes against any glaring palpable defects, or that we are to bestow unbounded eulogiums upon any characters whatever. Threatened as we now are by a restless and, I believe, implacable enemy, no doubt can remain what we

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are to do. We must stand or fall together, and I hope that, however severe the conflict may be, God will once more appear for us and, not on account of our own merits, but for His mercy's sake, give us deliverance. Seventeen days after the Battle of Waterloo one of our correspondents, after lamenting the death of Samuel Whitbread as one 'who, though of manners mild, stood foremost in the band that rally round their country's charters,' says 'Dover is worth visiting. Our port is again open, the interdict was removed this morning, and you would be astonished at the number of carriages and four that pass our house. I confess that I greatly pity the French nation, though I cannot help feeling proud of the success of our brave countrymen. Had any others been opposed to Buonaparte, he had still been on the throne of France. The brutal superstitions of the Bourbon make me wish that they never more may dictate from the palace of Paris. France should choose her rulers, and, should they be imposed on her, I still hope that she e'er long will emancipate herself from such degrading thralldom. There are no French packets in the harbour, but the sea is covered with vessels'" (July 5, 1815). The Second Treaty of Paris was concluded November 20, 1815. Louis XVIII. was again in Paris and pursued a thoroughly reactionary policy. In England the reform party was under a cloud. "Burke's dictum, that the existing Constitution was sacrosanct and that the laws of England must never be changed, had now the sanction of twenty years' acceptance and practice, culminating in the glories of Waterloo."¹ A student for the ministry at Glasgow is moved by the prospect to rhetorical declaration. He speaks (November 27, 1815) of "that grand crisis of affairs, which cannot be far distant, when the power and influence of England must be established on a much surer and firmer foundation, or

¹ Trevelyan: *Lord Grey of the Reform Bill*, p. 180.

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subverted in that ruin which awaits all empires that are overgrown with luxury, undermined by political intrigue, and decayed with political corruption. Britain ! thou art weighed in the balance—the beam trembles—a single atom will turn it against thee—then shalt thou be found wanting. Then shall thy kingdom pass away, and thy name be blotted out from the book of nations. . . . There are now in the house of Major Cartwright, that well-known friend of liberty and of equal representation, no less than six hundred petitions for Parliamentary reform from Scotland only. These will be thrown into Parliament in the Spring of next year, and though they may be neglected, or rather flung under the table, yet they will show indubitably to our iniquitous rulers the general sentiments of the country with regard to their conduct.” Undoubtedly Liberal Dissenters belonged, in the main, to the party of Reform, but not to that of Revolution. The “lower orders,” as they were called, were not too highly esteemed even by the liberty-loving heretics. Their presence in excessively large numbers at the services of a Liverpool chapel created something like consternation, and rendered the popular Unitarian preacher odious and vile in the eyes of the staid and respectable members. The fear of the growing power of the proletariat was widespread. The state of England in 1819 is thus depicted : “There will be a great change in Britain very shortly—the reason ? the Minister borrowing twelve millions in time of peace, which, of course, must create new taxes ; the firing upon the populace quietly assembled to state their grievances ; poor rates rapidly advancing ; trade every day getting worse—all these things considered, a person of but ordinary judgment may calculate the result.” The historian thus records the Government attitude towards Reform from 1817 to 1819 : “Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in 1817, the Peterloo atrocity and the Six Acts in 1819.

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Spies and agents provocateurs were let loose among the Radicals. Pitt's armoury of panics and repression was refurbished without the excuse of a foreign war. Social war of the Haves against the Have-nots was Castlereagh's programme for the nineteenth century."¹ Not until 1832 was it clear that reform and not revolution was to mark the emergence of a new class with political rights in England. In the long run it meant much for civil peace as well as for the political liberties of this country that a number of dissenting chapels kept the flag of liberty flying through the dark days of the war and of the peace that followed, and threw their weight upon the side of propaganda and against that of riot and revolt. In many towns there was no alternative between the old dissenting chapel and the parish church. And an episcopalian clergyman might be a follower of Joanna Southcote, as at Crewkerne, or a Swedenborgian, as in Manchester, but he was almost invariably a zealous Tory with strong opinions as to the necessity of preserving unimpaired the ancient prerogatives of the class to which he belonged. With Liberal Dissent it was a struggle for life in the face of obloquy, suspicion, and oppression. "We maintain our ground," says a Welsh minister in a typical note, "in spite of the Bishop and all the calumny and falsehood so liberally bestowed upon us" (April 21, 1818). The war affected Dissenters in more ways than one. Scarcity, high prices, and even a servant problem were not unknown. The daughter of one minister and sister-in-law of another, addressing her sister, writes: "A profuse use of butter in our kitchen occasioned us to look into our abuses, and we are like to gain by our exertions. . . . What plagues servants are! But they shall not get the upper hand here!" In another note the same scribe observes: "We have lessened eight windows that paid double tax, and

¹ Trevelyan: *Lord Grey of the Reform Bill*, p. 181.

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closed six. We intend paying but for fifteen, so that window-tax and rent will be £67 ” (April 7, 1818). What made matters worse for Dissent was the dearth of candidates for the ministry. A well-informed minister writes : “ It is deeply to be regretted that there are so few young men training for our ministry ” (December 2, 1809). In addition to the students at the York College (now Manchester College, Oxford), a number of young men, with the aid of grants from Dr. Williams’ Trustees and the Hackney College Fund, pursued their studies at Glasgow College (University). On January 1, 1820, eight Unitarian divinity students were in residence there. They were not all completely satisfied with their manner of life. One complains (November 29, 1814) : “ I am fagged from morning till morning again—indeed, I very seldom get to bed till two o’clock in the morning (it is now half-past one) and seven o’clock is *hora matutinal* at the College.” “ We have a great deal of Greek to prepare, and an essay to write every night for the Logic class.” The first-year classes, which these students usually passed over, were held in contempt, and the classical lecturer, like Papias in the judgment of Eusebius, was a man “ small of understanding.” “ I have frequently seen him stuck at a word . . . in the quantities he is often wrong . . . his fame as a Classic is not high here.” The students suffered from incurable impecuniosity, and lengthy letters to ministerial acquaintances besought their good offices in securing grants from public or private funds. A minister, replying to an appeal (May 21, 1802), said, “ I find the Presbyterian Fund is so poor and so much in debt that a resolution was passed to grant no exhibitions but what are already voted till their accounts present a better complexion. Dr. Williams’ exhibition is applied. As for the York Fund (Lady Hewley’s Fund), a Trustee tells me, ‘ We only found out lately that we are limited to four or five students

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to exhibit to at one time, and we have never given more than £6 per annum.' It is, however, in contemplation to increase that allowance and to adhere strictly to the number." Our letters throw some light upon a controversy in *The Monthly Repository* for 1815 respecting the claims of York and Glasgow as centres for the education of dissenting students. A contributor to the journal named, identified by one of our scribes as Mr. George William Wood, of Manchester, wrote a long letter signed "A Friend to the Permanence of Dissent" in favour of York and against Glasgow. A student in the Scottish city, whose name is given as Gaskell, replied as "A Friend to Pure Representation" in an article of six pages, giving a list of professors in the Glasgow College, their classes, the methods of study pursued, and strongly controverted the arguments of the previous contributor. Incidentally, he mentions that students can find lodgings in the City at prices ranging from 5/- to 30/- per week. John Gaskell, M.A. (1795-1836), was a student at Glasgow 1811-16, and minister at Thorne 1816-19 and Dukinfield 1819-36. A young man beginning his ministry was anxiously watched by his seniors. One such, who afterwards made his mark, is spoken of as "very open-hearted, but wants a check, his spirits carry him on both too fast and too far." The various local Unitarian Associations generally contrived to make a fair show for numbers at their annual meetings, which always included a substantial dinner at an inn and a pleasant and agreeable evening. Even serious business meetings were held on licensed premises. "I was engaged," writes Dr. Toulmin, "from between nine and ten in the morning till nearly four in the afternoon at the Royal Hotel on the business of the general meeting of the Bible Society" (April 24, 1812). The Provincial Meeting (now Assembly) of Lancashire and Cheshire was by no means the popular and influential

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gathering it has since become. It was a meeting for ministers only. At Warrington, in 1813, from thirty to forty ministers were present, and there was, we are told, "little cordiality in the proceedings." Another correspondent, six years later, remarks that "no union has existed among the congregations in the county, and but little among the ministers save what resulted from their annual meeting, and in this the people at large felt little or no interest, as the chief business related to their exclusive affairs." Chief of these affairs was the Widows Fund, projected at the suggestion of Priestley in 1762, in which year he was married, and founded May 16, 1764, after a sermon by him to the Provincial Meeting at Cross Street Chapel, Manchester. The Southern Association, we learn, always tried to avoid meeting "on beast market days," as for various reasons the attendance on such days was below the average. These Associations had an almost unworked field of labour. Speculative and Christological questions were caviare to the general, and, as one enthusiastic layman put it, "The generality of our neighbours imagine the Scriptures came down from heaven in the English language." Now and again a Free Catholic divine born out of due time interrupted the blissful harmony of the gatherings. At Poole, Mr. Thomas, of Wareham, "introduced an unpleasant discussion on the impropriety, as he called it, of the appellation of Unitarian applied to our Society. He maintained that Trinitarians were as much Unitarians as any of us. I think he was confuted by sound argument, but I believe he was not convinced. What is his system of theology his most confidential friends cannot determine. It seems to be Br. Thomas's turn of mind to think differently as much as possible from any other person. He is a genius and fond of singularity" (September 4, 1810). A curious topic came before the Ministers' Meeting (June 30, 1805) when the

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“Father of the Assembly” addressed it on “the special care of their bodies.” “Was such a subject,” asks an indignant auditor, “the most proper, and altogether necessary at that time and place?” The sermons preached at these annual meetings were often printed, and an apology to the preacher was deemed fitting when no fee could be offered and no promise made to print the discourse. One sermon, described as “very judicious,” was “truly orthodox in length, being upwards of one hour and twenty minutes.” “My sermon,” says our reporter, “was a plain discourse on the Unity of God, every syllable of which Tom Long, the carrier, might have understood. Yet a few days ago I received a request to let it appear before the public. I thanked them for their candour, but had wit enough to decline it” (September 4, 1811). An estimate for printing four hundred and fifty copies of a sermon is given as six guineas, but the printer after reading it repented of his contract and refused to be responsible for a sermon “upon the Unitarian system” as it was “subversive of the doctrines of the gospel.” At this date sermons cost 1/- and 1/6 each. Their sale, though more considerable than in our day, seldom covered the cost of printing, and one minister took a vow that he would not “let his see the light under that name. I would rather call them theological tracts, or Divine Desiderata, or something of that kind,” and so circumvent the unwary purchaser (February 11, 1811). During the war the sale declined. “The unavoidable expenses of the war sink the spirits and drain the purses of many who would otherwise become purchasers. Amidst preparation for battle, the still, small voice of sermons can scarcely hope to be heard” (December 8, 1803). Publication in country towns had its difficulties. “My sermon,” says an author, “has at length, after various delays, come from the press. Both the compositor and printer are boys of no education. I had much

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trouble, therefore, in correcting the sheets, and, though I detected a number of errors, some still remain " (October 21, 1813). Even MS. sermons had at this time some pecuniary value. Speaking of a deceased brother who had left five hundred sermons but little else, a minister remarks : " I fear we must dispose of them to cover his debts. I feel an anxious desire to preserve his reputation by paying them in full " (September 5, 1810).

Correspondents, in alluding to a sermon, invariably give the text—a witness in itself to the unique authority of Scripture amongst the early nineteenth-century Unitarians. A homily by Belsham on Judas, characterized as " learned and elegant," contained the singular argument that " if the Iscariot had not betrayed his master we had been deprived of the benefits of Christ's resurrection "—from which it appears to follow that the traitor was a conspicuous benefactor of the human race. The Tract Societies commonly exchanged sermons and pamphlets which they circulated in their respective areas, and one gets the impression that the reading of theological literature was more extensive amongst laymen than it is to-day. Ministers were frequently book collectors, and many of our epistles relate to the sale or purchase of rare editions. " I bought Ogilby's Virgil for you at Whateley's sale for £1. I bid £5 for his Aesop, which was pronounced to be a very fine copy by all the knowing ones present, but I had not courage to go higher, so it was knocked down to my friend S. for £5 10s., and a very splendid small edition of Walpole's novel of *Otranto* for 14/6. Really such prices were given, so many doubts were started of the genuineness of copies or of their completeness, that I was discouraged. It was a great Black Letter day—replete with little and grand rarities of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There was much complaining of the ravages of the worm, and some smelling, if not tasting, of the old bindings, which

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no doubt would afford as good evidence of the vast intrinsic value of the article as the flavour of the rust on the shield of Scriblerus did of the depths of its antiquity. There was a dispute whether a binding which wore the appearance of having been put on by order of a Count of the last reign for a present to his mistress was coeval with the letterpress, which looked, and perhaps smelled, strongly of the age of one of Caxton's immediate successors" (May 13, 1813). Now and again an unscrupulous bookseller got the better of an unwary ministerial purchaser whose instructions were not very precise. "The fact is, no man in his profession," says a shrewd layman, "ought to be employed without a strict limit to the word 'cheap.' It means anything or nothing just as whim dictates, in such an article as old books in particular. He says he was much inclined to secure all the Hebrew Bibles for you, as you marked the whole, and he thought you laid stress upon them. . . . On the whole, you will perceive it to be our opinion that you must take the lot. I believe that nothing remains but to settle for them. Perhaps you would be kind enough to remit £100, and the balance I will adjust" (January 18, 1821). Dr. Toulmin, the Dissenting historian, lets us see in one of his letters his methods of work. "I forward two Quires of my History of Dissenters, which I wish to receive in a month's time. I meant to have made some additions, especially to the section on the Trinitarian Controversy, for I have since met with the Ballad on South and Sherlock in my Quires of Commonplaces for this work, to which I have now made an Index" (September 28, 1811). The work of the Unitarian Fund (est. 1806) and of the British and Foreign Unitarian Association (est. 1825) is noted in our correspondence. A Provincial meeting of the latter is thus described: "You will be pleased to hear that on Thursday last the British and Foreign met at Manchester, where the Annual

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Dinner was held, instead of London. Upwards of three hundred sat down. Messrs. Fox and Madge preached, and there were present Dr. Carpenter, Dr. Rees, B. Mardon, Martineau, and fifty other ministers. It passed off with more éclat than any meeting of the kind in London" (June 19, 1830). The growth of Fellowship Funds (founded by John Thomson in 1816), the grants made by these to congregations in distress, and the appeal signed "memorial by the members of one congregation at variance with their Trustees to all the neighbouring ministers" are evidences of co-operation and common loyalties. It was to fraternal regard that aged and infirm ministers, outside the area of the Widows Fund of Lancashire and Cheshire, frequently owed their relief from the pressure of sickness and poverty. A peculiarly hard case reported is that of "M. G., a minister formerly prosecuted by Calvinists under the Blasphemy Act, and relieved by the Bill of Indictment being thrown out by the Grand Jury," who in his forty-sixth year, the father of eight children, was struck down by paralysis. The letter appealing in his behalf was written by Richard Wright, the Unitarian Missionary.

This correspondence of a hundred years ago certainly reveals the existence of political, ecclesiastical, and ministerial difficulties not less serious or onerous than those which face Liberal Dissenting churches to-day. It discloses too in an intimate and attractive way the life and thought of a small community which, with all its shortcomings, has made a valuable contribution to the history of Nonconformity since the Act of Toleration.

THE MANCHESTER SOCINIAN CONTROVERSY

THE Manchester Socinian Controversy sprang out of an intemperate speech by the Rev. George Harris at a dinner (August 5, 1824) given in honour of the Rev. John Grundy on the occasion of his leaving Cross Street Chapel, Manchester, for Paradise Street Chapel, Liverpool. It took the form of letters to the *Manchester Gazette*, which reported the proceedings at the dinner. This correspondence evoked an article in *The Evangelical Magazine*, January 1825, which was answered in *The Monthly Repository*. The letters and articles, furnished with Introductory Remarks, and four Appendices on Unitarian Chapels, Manchester College, Dr. Williams' and Lady Hewley's Charities, respectively, were published anonymously in 1825 under the title of *The Manchester Socinian Controversy*. The controversy, unlike many others of the same character, was not without result. After lengthy legal proceedings the Unitarians lost the last-named Charity, and their hold upon all their old chapels and charities was put in jeopardy. There followed the Dissenters' Chapels Act (1844), which saved them from threatened destruction. The Preface to the volume exhibits the intent of the compilers : " We apprehend it will ultimately lead to the rescue of property to a considerable amount from the trust of Unitarians by legal process." The book played so prominent a part in the movement leading to the Lady Hewley suit (1830-42) that it is familiar to all students of Nonconformist history, but the unique copy of it in the Library merits a somewhat detailed description, as it throws light upon the controversy and the lawsuit that followed. It was formerly the property of George Hadfield (1789-1879), M.P. for Sheffield 1852-74, who was responsible for its publication, and on the top of the title-page is his signature, with the addition

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"Manchester, 1825." The volume is bound in calf, is interleaved, and contains numerous valuable notes by Hadfield and others (including copies of letters addressed to him), written at various times within a period of forty-six years. A large number of biographical notes, undated, relating to ministers named in the text, and drawn from the *Northowram Register*, *The Monthly Repository*, and similar publications, are signed R. S., presumably the initials of Richard Slate (1787-1867), a well-known Independent divine and historian, who materially assisted in the compilation of the published work. One long extract from *The Life and Errors of Thomas Dunton*, relating to Lady Hewley, was, it is said, "kindly copied by Mrs. Hadfield, 18 Feby., 1836." In all, thirty MS. and printed works are quoted by Hadfield and his coadjutors in the notes. In addition to the frontispiece engraving by Bull of the portrait of Henry Newcome, that of White, originally found in Chorlton's *Funeral Sermon* for Henry Newcome, has been inserted. Other added illustrations are (1) a coloured sketch of St. Saviourgate Chapel, York; (2) an elaborate plan of the chapel, with Lady Hewley's pew marked; (3) a pen-and-ink drawing of the old Lady Hewley's Hospital; (4) a plan of the hospital.

Many of the original sources for statements in the book, and the methods by which these were acquired, are indicated. Most of the contributors to the volume are identified, and thus we learn that Baptists, Independents, and Presbyterians were associated in this formidable assault upon Unitarians. The Introductory Remarks (pp. 1 ff.) "were compiled by the Rev. John Birt, Baptist Minister, Manchester," who afterwards "removed to Oldham and died there." Another avowed contribution from the same pen may be found on pages 63-72. The anonymous statement entitled "Unitarian Chapels"

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(pp. vii.-ix.), taken from the *Evangelical Magazine*, June 1825, is said to have been written by the Rev. W. Roby, an Independent divine. "A summary of the Chapels occupied by Unitarians in England, Wales, and Scotland" (pp. xlv.-xlix.) was "kindly prepared by Mr. Jonathan Lees, Accountant." Appendix no. iv. on Lady Hewley's Charity (pp. 194-219) was the work of George Hadfield, who gave the footnote on the last page on the authority of the "Rev. Mr. Alexander, of Norwich."

Mr. George William Wood, the well-known Unitarian layman, M.P. for South Lancashire 1832-5 and for Kendal 1837-43, was the writer of the letter to the *Manchester Gazette* signed "An Unitarian Christian" (pp. 20-23), and also that signed "An English Presbyterian" (pp. 37-41). In the latter he gave the place where he dated the letter, "that we might know," adds Hadfield, "who he was. It really seemed as if he thought the influence of his name would stop the controversy." In a later note (opposite p. 91) a reason is given for Mr. Wood's withdrawal from the controversy. "The deeds of Cockey Moor and Platt Chapels are decidedly for orthodox doctrines. Mr. Wood is a trustee for the latter, and was at the time of the controversy. This detection of facts was so palpably a breach of trust that it prevented Mr. W. (as we concluded) from appearing again in this discussion. His character would have been seriously risked if he had written again on this subject." Hadfield confesses himself to be responsible for the letter by "An Orthodox Observer" (pp. 33-7). Another correspondent, "A Scotch Presbyterian" (pp. 42-4), is declared on information given by "Mr. Prentice, 30 Dec., 1833" to have been Mr. Henry Bannerman, a Manchester manufacturer, and grandfather of the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman. "An excellent correspondent of Hadfield," who had "known and felt the baneful influence" of Unitarianism

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(pp. 109-110), was "the Revd. Mr. Stuart, of Wolverhampton, whose change of sentiment led to the suit of *Atty.-General v. Pearson* referred to on p. 118," and "one of the most able and eloquent champions of religious liberty" (quoted p. 119) is revealed as "Jno. Wilks, Esqr., Finsbury Square, Secretary to the Society for the Protect. of Religious Liberty." The leading trustee of Dr. Williams's Charities, quoted (p. 193) as saying that "Trustees are not bound by the will of the Testator, but must be left according to their own discretion in the application of Trust Funds," is identified as "Dr. Abraham Rees," who "said this to Mr. Turnbull, from whom I had it." The "gentleman whose name the writer would be pleased to give" (p. 198 n.) was "Mr. George Hadfield, of the Old Hall, my namesake." "An intelligent Dissenting minister in Yorkshire" (p. 214) was the "Revd. Dr. Bennett," whilst the name of one of the "poor ministers of orthodox sentiments" (p. 216) whom the trustees of the Lady Hewley Fund compelled to "obtain the recommendation of a Socinian preacher" when applying for a grant is given as "the Revd. Job Wilson, of Northwich." "A person now living" who was refused a student's exhibition from the fund on theological grounds (p. 212) was "the Revd. Mr. Cockin, of Halifax," and another "studying for the ministry," who was refused unless he would procure the recommendation of a Unitarian minister, was "the Revd. Jas. Mather, of Windsor Chapel, Pendleton, near Manchester; afterwards of Sheffield and now stationed near London" (p. 213). One of the two chapels said to have been "deserted by the Unitarians" (p. 214) is named as "Partington, Cheshire, and the third, whose "minister became orthodox," was "Wolverhampton."

The extract from a Trust Deed given by the Revd. Richard Slate (p. 98) is said to have been taken "from the

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Deed of Cockey Moor Chapel, Lancashire," from which Slate gives a briefer excerpt on page 138. The statement in the printed text (p. 152) referring to the "old Trust Deed of Platt Chapel" is corrected by the erasure of the words "Assembly's Catechism and the," and on the fly-leaf Hadfield gives a passage from the deed obtained from "Mr. Worsley and his Solicitor Mr. C. Barrett 11 Feby. 1836."

An interesting history is given of "the very valuable collection of papers relating to the private history of this Charity" (Lady Hewley's). The Robert Moody mentioned (p. 199), "a Trustee 1740-70, lived in Walmgate, York, until a year before his death in 1769, when he moved to Tadcaster and died. By will he bequeathed his residuary personal estate to his servants Rachel and Rebecca Wadsworth, one of whom married a relation of Mrs. Tapp, wife of Rev. Mr. Tapp, Independent minister of Cave, near Hull. She gave the papers of Mr. Moody to Mr. Tapp, who gave them to Dr. Bennett, then of Rotherham, who lent them to me." In a later note he corrects the death date of Moody, which he gives as 1766, adding: "A copy of his will was obtained from York, and it appears he died at Tadcaster in May 1766."

The Funeral Sermon, by Dr. Colton, on Lady Hewley's death, which, "though preached in 1710," as the MS. note says, was "printed for the first time in 1826 in the *Congregational Magazine*." Its appearance in that Journal is related with some satisfaction. "The original MS. is in the hands of the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved, Socinian Tutor of the Manchester College, York, and was lent to Mr. Ellerby, who copied it, and little expected the use that is now applied to it." In 1836 the Sermon and Bowles's Catechism were published anonymously in pamphlet form, probably by Hadfield.

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In the notes are minor corrections of the printed text and a few important ones, besides numerous additional details.

Hadfield even corrects some of the authorities he quotes. He gives opposite page 174 a list of Ministers of Stannington Chapel from Hunter's *History of Hallamshire*, and then continues : " He [Hunter] says, ' The Ministers of Stannington have belonged to that class of Dissenters called Presbyterian.' In that respect he is certainly in error. Of Mr. Samuel Smith (whose ministry is dated 1713-61) the following is an extract from the Church Book of the Independent Church in Wymondhouses in the time of the Rev. John Jollie, who succeeded the Rev. Thomas Jollie (viz. May 1718) : ' I dismiss Mr. Saml. Smith from his relation to us, in order to his being admitted member in the Church of Stannington, near Sheffield, Yorkshire, where he had preached several years and is shortly to be made Pastor.' Of the statement by Hargrove in his *History of York*, vol. ii., p. 182, that the Hewley Hospital was for ' old women of the Unitarian persuasion ' (quoted opposite p. 205), he says, ' the author has since seen the original rules in her own handwriting, which merely state that they should be able to repeat from memory the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and Mr. Bowles's Catechism.' The remark of ' an intelligent Dissenting Minister in Yorkshire,' identified as Dr. Bennett, that the Hewley Trustees ' give £100 or £200 per annum to Orthodoxy by way of a blind, but latterly I have heard of their giving us nothing but refusals ' (p. 214), is described as ' a natural conclusion,' and though it was afterwards found to be an error, yet the Unitarians certainly had a vast disproportion of the Fund compared with their numbers. Probably the amount they took after Mr. Moody's death and retained for many years was much greater than it has been of late, owing to the

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revival of evangelical religion and the consequent decline of Socinianism."

Hadfield collected much information from various sources—oral, manuscript, and printed (the references being fully given)—relating to the early ministers of our old chapels. Here is a typical note opposite page 168. It refers to Kendal. "Mr. Caleb Rotheram succeeded his father here August 26, 1756. Dr. Rotheram was born March 7, 1694, at Great Salkeld. He was educated for the ministry by Dr. Dixon, at Whitehaven. He accepted the invitation to become minister at Kendal in 1716. He commenced an Academy in 1733 which sent forth a considerable number of young men, most of whom were Arians or Socinians, and were the means of introducing heterodox sentiments in many places where the gospel had previously been preached. Dr. Rotheram died June 8, 1752, aged 58. About four years after his death he was succeeded by his son, who continued here till his death about 1795. He received his education partly from his father and partly at Daventry. Mr. Saml. Audland, one of Mr. Chorlton's first students, was here in 1713. Mr. Harrison is the present minister [1828]." The historians of *The Older Nonconformity in Kendal* (1915) give 1709 as the date of Audland's settlement and controvert Hadfield's printed statement that the chapel was "originally orthodox," but confirm the particulars in his MS. note.

Hadfield presented to Lancashire Independent College the portraits of the Rev. Timothy Jollie, of his father the Rev. Thomas Jollie, and of the Rev. Henry Newcome. The first, he tells us, he purchased "from Miss Blythe, a descendent of Mrs. Jollie," and the second "of another branch of the family." His written account of the third—that of Newcome—throws light on a much disputed question. From this it appears that he purchased the portrait, May 3, 1825, from the Rev. William Jones,

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minister of Maudsley Street Congregational Chapel, Bolton, July 28, 1808–October 19, 1842, for the sum of £50, and presented it, December 24, 1835, to the Blackburn Academy (after 1843 the Lancashire Independent College, Manchester), of which he was then treasurer. A letter written by Mr. Jones, January 20, 1836, states that the portrait had been presented to him by “one of his hearers at Bolton, who said that his grandfather ‘had bought it at Mr. Newcome’s sale at Manchester.’” This statement is further elucidated by a letter of George Hadfield, February 10, 1844, declaring that “shortly after the decease of Henry Newcome the portrait was sold with other effects to a gentleman whose family were resident in a neighbouring town, and in their possession it continued more than a century, and until about twenty-five years ago, when it was transferred to the surviving member, who died at the age of 70 (on whose authority this statement was given), to Mr. Jones.” The portrait never was deposited in Cross Street Chapel, though the Rev. Thomas Newcome, rector of Shenley, Bucks., a great-great-grandson of Henry Newcome, wrote in the *Manchester Courier*, February 3, 1844, that he had “heard Mr. Hadfield got possession of the portrait on the pulling down of Cross Street Chapel when the Unitarians rebuilt it and expelled the picture and expunged the gravestone of Hy. Newcome,” a report of which the several items named are purely fictitious.

In the *Autobiography of Newcome*, under date September 15, 1658, there is an account of the painting of the portrait by “Mr. Cunney” “at half-price.” The portrait was engraved by R. White and prefixed to Chorlton’s *Funeral Sermon* for Newcome (1696), and again by John Bull prefixed to *The Manchester Socinian Controversy*. Hadfield saw Newcome’s Diary before it was published. Under date February 16, 1831, he writes : “The Revd.

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R. Newcome, the Rector and Warden of Ruthen, lent me a MS. diary of the Revd. Henry Newcome in his own hand writing, and dated from September 30, 1661, to September 29, 1663. It is an interesting document, and he seemed to have been intimate with many of the principal families in and near Manchester. He mentions Lord Delamere of Dunham, Mr. Lightbown, Mr. Mynshull, etc." Across this note is another which runs : " In July 1849 the Chetham Society published the *Diary* entire with Notes, etc., and Preface by Jas. Heywood, Esq. ; in March 1851 the Society published his *Autobiography*, in two volumes."

In Sir John and Lady Hewley, and the Fund associated with the latter, Hadfield, as we have seen, had a particular interest. From a certain " Miss Smyth, who resides near Thirsk," he borrowed through the good offices of " Mrs. Price, of Cleventhorpe, York," April 19, 1833, the following letters carefully copied in this volume :

- (1) Letter from Sir John Hewley to Sir Thomas Rokeby, one of the twelve Judges of the King's Bench, dated October 5, 1691.
- (2) Letter from Lady Sarah Hewley to Lady Rokeby (undated, but written shortly after the foregoing).
- (3) Letter from Lady Sarah Hewley to Lady Rokeby, dated September 9, 1692.
- (4) Letter from Rev. Dr. T. Colton to Lady Rokeby, dated December 31, 1692.
- (5) Letter from Lady Sarah Hewley to Lady Rokeby, dated May 30 (no year stated).
- (6) Letter from Thomas Bendlowe to Sir Thomas Rokeby, dated August 31, 1697.

Sir John Hewley's parliamentary career is given in a note by Hadfield, which concludes " On the 27th May 1679 Parliament was dissolved by King Charles II. in great displeasure." The life of Sir Thomas Rokeby, to whom

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the first letter is addressed, is included in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which does not, however, state that he was a friend of Richard Frankland, the founder of the first Nonconformist Academy. He is said to have obtained for Frankland the protection of the Government, when on February 2 "he was excommunicated for not appearing before the Chancellor in the Archbishop's Court at York in answer to a citation issued May 30, 1690." Two of Rokeby's nephews were pupils in Frankland's Academy. Sir John Hewley's letter to Rokeby contains nothing relating to the Hewley case or the history of Dissent in general. Referring to contemporary events, he says, "We have nothing of newes here worth yr. notice onely we have beene full of hopes to have heard ere tyis of the surrender of Limerick wt., if it pleases God to give us before ye siege bee raised, it would plucke a thorne out of our foot & enable us to act wt. our united power agst. ye common Enemy ye next Campaine . . ."

The common enemy was France. Sarsfield abandoned the attempt to hold Limerick for King James, September 24, 1691.

Lady Hewley's first letter (undated) refers to an accident which had befallen her husband, who spoke of it in the letter to Sir Thomas Rokeby, and to certain legal arrangements made by her husband with Sir Thomas respecting her property. In her second letter (September 9, 1692) she tells of her own feeble health, and alludes to a marriage about which she was not consulted: "As for the marriage you spoke of, I was naver consigned in it either by my Husband or the parties till it was concluded . . . nather before the marriage nor sense did he ever spake on word of it to me, this you will think straing but it is very true."

Dr. Colton was the first minister of St. Saviourgate Chapel, York, and became one of the executors of Lady

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Hewley's will. His first wife was a daughter of Ralph Ward, M.A.,¹ an ejected minister to whom he refers in his letter. St. Saviourgate Chapel, built in 1692, was registered April 8, 1693. Writing on the last day of 1692, Colton says: "Ye Building is now rear'd cover'd, & if ever it be pull'd down, it is our poor opinion here yt we or our own habitations will not stand long after it. Some have contributed very nobly towards it, one has given £90, Madam Fountain £50, Madam Robinson £20, Mr. Geldout of York £30, etc., yet if some others of our Christian friends do not also exprefs their good will to this work it will fall with too great weight upon the undertakers. . . ." Apologizing towards the end of the epistle for its brevity, he begs that her "Ladyship will not impute it to an unmannerly reservedness, but to a modest sense of my distance, not daring to presume on the same freedom with yr Ladship yt my Reverend Father was wont to use."

In Lady Hewley's third letter to Lady Rokeby (May 20,——) there is an allusion to the congregation and possibly a hint as to her own theological opinions: "God hath taken away several of our Society heare, & those that upholds it are very ould wake and infirm; so that it is sad to think what great alterations may be in this plas in a littile time; our Bishop is a great Arminian and grat foking to heare him."

The Archbishop of York, at this date, was John Sharp, who became the guide and confidant of Queen Anne. A reference to the apprehension of Lady Hewley is made in the Preface to the *Funeral Sermon* by Dr. Colton, published anonymously in 1836, as found "in a letter of Lady Hewley's still in MS." Lady Rokeby, the correspondent of Lady Hewley, was Ursula, daughter of James

¹ See *Calamy*, vol. ii., p. 505; also Gordon: *Freedom after Ejection*, Index.

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Danby, of New Building, Thirsk. She survived her husband, and died August 10, 1737. Lady Hewley's maiden name was Wolrych, and she had a fortune from her first husband, whose name was Tichborne. In a note alluding to her script, Hadfield says : " I think it doubtful whether the letters are in her own writing. She must have been well educated, being an only child of a Barrister, but the orthography is very bad in these letters though the phraseology is tolerably good." A second note, written across the first, adds: " I have since seen Lady Hewley's writing to the Trust Deeds, and there is no doubt that these letters are in her own handwriting." Thomas Bendlowe, the writer of the sixth letter, is identified by Hadfield with the " Mr. Benlows, ejected minister of Mitford, Northumberland," whom Calamy describes (vol. ii., p. 513) as " Since a Counsellor at Law and Justice of Peace." The letter, written seven days after the death of Sir John Hewley, is a curious mixture of law and piety. Addressing Sir Thomas Rokeby, the writer, a trustee of the Hewley estate, minutely describes the legal position of affairs, and begs his " Lordshipp's directions herein that tho' I hve been an uselefs worm in my Generation yet I may not do anything thro' ignorance or Mistake to the prejudice of soe good and great a Trust wh: may refresh the Bowels of the Lord's Flock when I am dead and gone to my rest."

Under date July 5, 1837, Hadfield relates an account of his visit to St. Saviourgate Chapel with eight of his children. Lady Hewley's pew is said to be " an armed sitting or Chair for her accommodation when by reason of her great age and infirmities she could not support herself in her seat without such assistance." He also describes the portraits in the vestry of Sir John and Lady Hewley which had been presented to the chapel by Miss Hotham, a descendant of the Rev. John Hotham, assistant and

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successor to Dr. Thomas Colton, who had recently died at the age of ninety. His request to have them copied by an artist met with the approval of one of the trustees of the Chapel, John Harrison, son of the Rev. Ralph Harrison, of Cross Street Chapel, Manchester (1771-1810), but the other trustees would not agree, a fact which is, perhaps, not surprising in view of what was then happening in the Law Court.

Hadfield writes, opposite page 210: "On the 18 June, 1830, an Imprimatur was filed in the name of the Atty. General on the Relation of Thomas Wilson, George Hadfield, John Clapham, Joseph Read, and Joseph Hodgson, against Shore, Wellbeloved, and others, the Greater and Sub-Trustees to remove the present Trustees [of the Lady Hewley Fund] and to declare that Unitarians were not entitled to the Charity." Thus began a suit which lasted a dozen years. A summary of the proceedings is given (opposite pp. 210 ff.) from the opening to the claim of the Scottish Presbyterians to have a finger in the pie. All the grants from the Fund received by Unitarian ministers are recorded opposite the mention of their names in the printed text. The properties of the Trust are detailed, and on the fly-leaf of page 216 we read: "1841 Sept. 15. Being at Scarboro' with Mrs. H. and two daughters, we met Mr. Blower the Solicitor in the Suit Atty. General *v.* Shore, etc., and accompanied us to view the estate at West Ayrton, where we lunched with Mr. Darrell, the principal tenant." The extent and state of the estate is then noted. Referring to the severe remark at the foot of page 213, respecting Lady Hewley's Collection of Rules, he adds: "These rules were published by the Charity Commissioners"—and gives them. Mentioning the fact reported by the Unitarian Trustees in the Suit (1830) that John Lee, afterwards Solicitor and then Attorney-General, had been appointed (May 10, 1770)

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one of the Trustees, he gives a scathing sketch of his character based on the speech by Wraxall upon Fox's India Bill, and calls him "an avowed opponent of Christianity." The biographer of "honest Jack Lee" gives a different view of the man : "Although Mr. Lee had not attended to the study of divinity as a profession, he pursued it as a duty. He was, perhaps, almost, if not altogether, as conversant in it as *that* to which he had devoted himself. It was his favourite pursuit." But, as a friend of Priestley, he was obnoxious to Hadfield. Opposite, page 194, he observes : "The Rev. Mr. Matthews, of Hamburgh, told me that a schoolfellow of his at Thorpe Arch School, near Wetherby, had a large lot of Lady Hewley's letters and papers which he burnt. . . . He could not say how such valuable documents got into the lad's hands. They would have been very interesting."

The costs of the appeal by the defendants to the House of Lords are estimated by Hadfield at £1,500, and those of the suit as a whole at £10,000. After the appointment of Scottish Presbyterian Trustees on the Hewley Charity, under date November 3, 1843, he expresses his disgust that "tho' the Scotch congregations are about 1000 odd and the Indepts. and Baptists above 4,000, yet the Court gave them 4 out of 7 trustees, being a Majority, and thus handed the Charity to the influence of strangers and foreigners. Except a little chapel at Whitby, the Scotch have no Places of Worship in Yorkshire. They never contributed a farthing to the suit nor offered us the slightest aid of any sort."

Hadfield's estimate of the claims of orthodox Presbyterians to the Fund was not unchallenged. Opposite, page 184, he observes that a "copy of the Parliamentary Commissioners' Report on Lady Hewley's Charity was published with my notes, and two new appendices in 1829, and circulated gratuitously amongst the dissenting ministers

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in the northern Counties." This evoked a letter (copied by Hadfield) from the Rev. Charles Thomson, of North Shields, dated August 18, 1830. He claims that there were at this date sixty-one orthodox Presbyterian Churches in Northumberland, Durham, and Cumberland entitled to grants from the Fund, and traces the history of the one at North Shields of which he was minister.

Hadfield apparently remained unmoved by the arguments of Thomson. But he comforts himself with the reflection that "It was a great point to rescue the Hewley Charity from Socinian influence, come what may of the property in dispute." The note referring to the House of Lords' judgment must have been written with a grim smile on the face of the writer: "The Dinner to Mr. Grundy was the 5 August 1824, and this judgment 5 August 1842, say 18 years after. The information filed 18 June 1830, say twelve years before this decision."

Hadfield comments with severity on the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, in the framing of which, says his biographer,¹ "he gave much assistance." It is not difficult to surmise from his own script what part of the Bill met with his approval. In a note signed, and dated July 19, 1844—the very day on which the Act received the Royal Assent—he observes: "After the publication of this work [*The Manchester Socinian Controversy*] no proceedings were taken to recover the Chapels which the Unitarians had usurped in Great Britain; nor were intended. In Ireland legal proceedings were taken in several cases; and, strange enough it was! Sir Robt. Peel brot. in and passed this Bill to restrain their Proceedings. With the orthodox pretensions of himself and his party, it was very surprizing, and the precedent set is a bad one. The Act does not, however, extend to cases where trust deeds state the doctrines intended to be promoted by the Founders; and

¹ *D.N.B.*: George Hadfield.

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there are several such cases—Cockeymoor, Rusholme, etc.”

The significant words “*nor were intended*” are clearly not in accord with the sentiments that follow, any more than with those of the pages printed nineteen years later. They are, in fact, a later interpolation. The full stop after the words “Gt. Britain” has been converted into a semi-colon, and the three words in question are crowded into a small space in the line, originally left blank. Another later but undated note on the fly-leaf opposite p. ix. also betrays the true mind of Hadfield and his coadjutors. “It is marvellous indeed that the Unitarians should subsequently be able to induce Sir Robt. Peel and the Tories in 1845 to pass the Dissenters’ Chapels Bill, and thus confirm their bad titles to these malverted chapels. Yet so it was, and Lord Lyndhurst himself, who had given so splendid a Judgment in Lady Hewley’s Charity Suit, conducted the Bill in the House of Lords. By these means 170 Chapels built by the orthodox were confirmed to the Unitarians, except in cases where the Deeds contn. doctrinal articles, of which there are a number such as Cockey Moor Chapel, Birch Chapel, etc.” The animus of the writer may be seen too in a long note referring to the Butterworth Fund, mentioned on page 183, in which he explains the origin and character of the Fund, inveighs against the Trustees for their misuse of it, and confesses his disappointment that the “Charity Commissioners by their report June 24, 1826, do not refer to this abuse, though I pointed it out to them.”

Plainly it was not for nothing that leading Unitarians in England and Ireland feared, after the decision in the Lady Hewley case, for the security of their possession of the old chapels built by their fathers. They knew that in George Hadfield they had an influential and capable legal opponent prepared, at all costs, to push to the furthest

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possible point the recognition by the Law Courts of the precedent laid down in that case. I suspect that much of the material collected by Hadfield in his copy of *The Manchester Socinian Controversy* was intended for use in a contemplated campaign against the trustees of so-called Presbyterian chapels.

An account of the "Distribution of the Hewley Charity for One Year, ending May 1857" given on the authority of "Mr. Barnes, one of the present Trustees," is as follows :

200 ministers received	. . .	£2,075
42 widows of ministers received	. . .	380
21 poor persons received	. . .	225
22 poor places received	. . .	205
10 students at £40 (since £50)	. . .	400
9 almswomen received	. . .	180
<hr/>		<hr/>
310 persons		£3,465

"In 1858 there was in hand a surplus of £2,000, and they intended to increase the Distribution. The Unitarian Ministers are entirely dispossessed, and the Charity is restricted to Trinitarian Ministers, etc., as designed by the Foundress. This is the result of 20 years' legal contest and an expenditure of £25,000 and upwards. The income at the commencement of these Proceedings was £2,800 and a fraction, and it is now above £5,000, and may sometime double that sum." The note is signed and dated June 27, 1858.

The last entry by Hadfield states that "The book of Resolutions and accounts of the Hewley Charity Trustees from 1711 to 1760 was discovered in private custody and sold to J. R. Mills, Esq., one of the present Trustees, who presented it to the trustees generally. It is an interesting and perfect record of proceedings, and it has been kept secret 111 years. The want of it during the

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Chancery proceedings was a serious disadvantage to the Relators.

George Hadfield 17 August 1871
Sole surviving Relator."

Hadfield was now 84 years of age. He died eight years later at his residence in Victoria Park, Manchester.

In virtue of his attitude towards Unitarians for nearly half a century George Hadfield may fairly be called the *Malleus Unitariorum*.

Recent Congregationalist historians,¹ whilst justifying the orthodox claim to benefit from the Lady Hewley Trust, have acknowledged the wisdom and justice of the Dissenters' Chapels Act. A careful scrutiny of the available evidence (including that of Hadfield's notes) seems to warrant such a verdict.

Of the value of *The Manchester Socinian Controversy* as it appeared in print little need be said. Its chief editor boasts in a note preceding the title-page of his copy that "Altho' the facts detailed in this publication were hastily collected, they never received any material contradiction whatever. This was a gratification to those who were responsible for the publicity here given to them."

The boast was at least premature. Almost every work on Unitarian history since 1825 has corrected one or more of the statements therein. A sober estimate of the book is that of the editor of the *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, vol. 3, p. 3: "In spite of many inaccuracies" it "contained a good deal of useful historical information."

¹ Skeats: *History of the Free Churches* (1868), pp. 616 ff. Stoughton: *Religion in England from 1800-1850* (1884), pp. 302-3. Dale: *History of Congregationalism* (1907), p. 643. Clark: *History of Nonconformity* (1913), vol. ii., p. 313.

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IN a letter dated June 1, 1854, Dr. John Relly Beard declared that there was "an existing and growing demand for Unitarian ministers in churches among the Christian Brethren and other liberal and popular bodies." The churches thus named, in which Unitarian preaching was at this date known and appreciated, formed part of a movement of peculiar interest to students of nineteenth-century Nonconformity. Its founder, Joseph Barker, a man of remarkable power as preacher, controversialist, and pamphleteer, in the course of a career almost without parallel played many parts. Born at Bramley, near Leeds, in the year 1806 of poor parents of the Wesleyan Methodist persuasion, he was in turn a lay preacher in the Old Connexion, a minister in the New Connexion, and, after his expulsion from that body, almost persuaded to be a Quaker, then a heretic of Unitarian opinions, an infidel, and finally a Primitive Methodist. His political course was hardly less kaleidoscopic. Beginning as a Radical, from a militant advocacy of peace principles, temperance, anti-slavery, and anti-Socialism he passed by way of Chartism to an ardent defence of the Southern States in the American civil war and a sober acquiescence in Whig schemes of social and political reform. The products of his pen were legion. Amongst them was an autobiography, which has even been compared with Newman's *Apologia*.¹ Originally contributed in serial form to one of his journals, it was published anonymously in 1860 as *The History and Confessions of a Man*. It is marred by a certain grossness, exaggeration, and bitterness. In an expanded form, edited by his nephew, it was republished in 1880, five years after Barker's death. The omissions and alterations in the re-issue robbed the story of its piquant flavour, but rendered

¹ Townsend, Workman, and Eayrs: *A New History of Methodism*, vol. i., p. 525.

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it more palatable to Methodist readers. Of little value as a source for the history of the Christian Brethren Movement, it is indispensable in its original form to a psychological study of its author.

On the platform and in the pulpit, amidst all changes of theological and political doctrine, Barker was irresistible. Widely read, with all his resources at command, he was eloquent, skilful, adroit, and daring. An intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures, a ready humour, a biting sarcasm, and an abundance of apt illustrations united with a racy Saxon speech to win the warm appreciation even of cultured hearers to whom his Yorkshire dialectic utterance was new and strange. To the artizans and labouring classes in the North, and only in a less degree elsewhere, he was almost an idol. Few Nonconformist divines in England have exercised such fascination over his countrymen as Joseph Barker. An eminent Unitarian minister (Charles Wicksteed) said of him in the hey-day of his liberal religious propaganda : " As a moral and religious reformer we think there may be a career before him unrivalled since the time of John Knox," whilst one who heard him in London concluded a notice of his preaching with the remark : " I am mistaken in Joseph Barker if he be not fashioned in the clay from which prophets, apostles, and martyrs of old have been formed." His magnetic influence may best be estimated from two impressions recorded by unsympathetic critics of his pulpit and platform oratory. A correspondent of *The Christian Messenger*, writing from Newcastle, November 18, 1844, describes Barker as " part Quaker, part Unitarian, and part Sceptic." " He has great influence on the masses of the people here, and studiously accommodates himself to the lower grades of the people. He is a man of extensive reading, powerful speech, and praiseworthy manner, very witty and skilled in the tactics of debate." After a reference

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to Barker's obnoxious theological opinions, the writer concludes : " I wish some brother would meet this Goliath, for he has a wonderful relish for defying." The late Rev. George Fox, the first regular minister of the Christian Church, Mossley, left in MS. an account of Barker's lecture at Mossley in 1860 in behalf of the Southern States of America. " The hall of the Mechanics' Institute was full, with an audience by no means pre-disposed on behalf of the lecturer. . . . He was well known as once an earnest, eloquent, Christian preacher—an advocate of peace and religion. Now he had lost his Christian faith, and had become a supporter of a system in which slavery was the corner-stone. He had to disarm the hostility aroused by his changes of religious and political belief. . . . He was modest, dignified, eloquent. He stated the case of the South in a most masterly way. His appearance was striking—his adroitness in debate remarkable. He captivated his hearers. Under his influence they would have voted any way. Without being convinced, I was deeply impressed. I understood then the power he was able to exercise by his oratory over his fellows. The next night Barker lectured again. The hall was crowded. The previous evening he had won over his audience. He felt he could do as he pleased, and did so. He laid aside the dignified style of his first lecture, and condescended to oratorical tricks. . . . The victory of the orator was complete. The resolution in favour of the South was carried by an overwhelming majority."

The life and work of Barker need not be related save in so far as these are intimately bound up with the inception and progress of the Christian Brethren Movement which sprang directly out of his ejection from the Methodist New Connexion in 1841. After a childhood and youth of penury and hardship, during which he applied himself with rare determination to overcome every obstacle in the way

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of his education, he quickly betrayed the rational and radical bias of his nature. The seeds of heresy were sown in his mind by biblical study. As a Wesleyan local preacher of nineteen, he turned his back on the prospect of becoming an itinerant preacher by rejecting the doctrine of the eternal sonship of Christ. At the age of twenty-two he became a New Connexion local preacher, and four and a half years later was accepted by the Conference as a regular minister. In June 1841, at a conference held at Huddersfield, he was expelled from the New Connexion, nominally for his refusal to administer the ordinance of Baptism, really for his marked tendency to adopt and disseminate heretical opinions. Amongst the articles from his pen censured by the conference were one on Evangelical Preaching, another in commendation of Channing's Discourses, and others on Justification and Atonement. "I was expelled," he says, "because I made the Connexion subservient to the interests of Christian truth and piety—to the glory of God and the interests of mankind." Barker's heterodoxy has an interesting origin and history, and its nature determined, in a large measure, the peculiar character of the Christian Brethren Movement. A letter, dated February 11, 1832, nine years before his expulsion, informs us that he had lately been reading with great interest John Taylor on *Original Sin*. The treatise named, written in 1740, exerted a profound influence during the eighteenth century on students and ministers of every Protestant church throughout the British Isles. Its effect upon Barker and the movement he founded is unmistakable. In an earlier letter (December 16, 1831) Barker prescribed Locke's *Common Place Book* next after the Bible in a scheme of religious education, and the teaching of the great liberal theologian and philosopher may be traced in the only test which the Christian Brethren applied to candidates for membership, namely, belief that Jesus is the

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Christ. In January 1832 his correspondence reveals Barker's acquaintance with the writings of Joseph Cooke and the Letters of John Ashworth—the two founders of the Methodist Unitarian Movement—which followed Cooke's ejection from the Wesleyan Methodist Conference of 1806. In both points of doctrine which led to Cooke's exclusion, Justification by Faith and the Witness of the Spirit, Barker expressed his complete agreement with the Rochdale preacher. At this early date, too, he acknowledges that he had rejected as unscriptural the doctrine of the Trinity, though still clinging to a belief in the godhead of Christ. Another source of Barker's catholic opinions is to be found in the writings of Richard Baxter. "No writer," said he, "has exerted a greater influence on my mind than Baxter." His glowing eulogy of Channing, as already noted, formed part of the indictment of Barker by his ministerial brethren in 1841. His controversies as a Methodist with the followers of Richard Carlile, the Freethinker, also carried him further on the way towards Liberal Christianity. "I saw clearly," he wrote, "that the strength of infidelity was in the errors and inconsistencies of theology, and that if Christianity were to be effectually defended against the assaults of unbelievers it must be defended apart from all peculiarities of orthodox systems."¹

To the reading of Clarkson's *Portraiture of Quakerism* Barker attributed his views on Infant Baptism, and to the writings of Plymouth Brethren his scriptural literalism. The works of William Penn, especially his *Sandy Foundation Shaken*, which he afterwards reprinted, he read with great delight. He constantly contrasted Penn's liberal spirit with that of Gurney and other orthodox Friends. Quakerism, indeed, left a deep impresison on his mind, and through him on the Christian Brethren Movement. It

¹ *Autobiography of a Man*, p. 175.

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was reflected in his staunch advocacy of Peace, his refusal to take oaths, and his aversion to force as a means of government. The acceptance of Quaker principles brought him into close relations with many leading Friends, like the Backhouses, Peases, and Richardsons, and opened to him the doors of Quaker Meeting Houses when those of Methodist Chapels were closed against him. The Quaker leaven appeared in the strong opposition to what was termed "a hired ministry" which became a marked feature of the Christian Brethren Movement. It was at work in the worship of the Brethren, who, in Barker's words, "met on the ground of perfect equality, and each spoke, or read, or sang, or prayed, as he thought it his duty," and "sometimes all sat in perfect silence." As a church, the Brethren did nothing except unanimously, though individual members, without let or hindrance, might unite in works of education, doctrinal propaganda, or the like—a mode of procedure which carried to an extreme point the Quaker method of arriving at a decision, without reference to majorities, by the Clerk's declaration as to the weight of the Meeting. Occasionally Barker even spoke and wrote of First Day, Steeple Houses, and the rest in Quaker fashion, but abandoned the peculiar phraseology of the Friends on perceiving, as he confessed, "that it is impossible to talk two minutes on any subject without using many words that are, according to their original or etymological signification, incorrect or false." To the current theories and practice of government Barker was strongly opposed. "A Christian," he declared, "should not be cognizant of such a thing as government or legislation in the world, and should regard all laws and law-makers as non-existent or curses" This antinomianism had a singular result. A few of his adherents refused to acknowledge the right of a registrar, appointed by the State, to be present at the celebration of marriages in

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their churches, and Barker sanctioned, though he did not enjoin, such refusal. David Thomas, a New Connexion minister, who followed Barker in 1841 and became preacher to the Brethren at Bury, in the absence of the civil officer married a lady of like mind with himself in the Christian Brethren Meeting Room at Hanley. Shortly afterwards two couples were married in the same way in Barker's church at Newcastle, as he put it, "without the help of priest or government officer." "All that the church had to do," said Barker, "was to tolerate such marriages, not to forbid them." David Thomas went further, and in reply to criticism by a well-known Unitarian wrote (March 11, 1846): "Those who have carried out their Christian principles so far as to get married without the authority of the State do not require toleration from their brethren, but, on the contrary, they have to exercise Christian forbearance towards their weaker brethren who conform to the worldly custom in this matter."

The name "Christian Brethren," assumed by Barker's disciples, was intended to denote their direct dependence upon Christ, and their equal, fraternal relation to each other. They went back to Jesus as the source of their inspiration, and sought to revive the spirit—self-denying, apostolic, and catechetical—of the early church. Their motto, "One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren," was frequently posted up in their meeting room or library. Again and again Barker defined a Christian Church as "a number of persons joined together on the simple ground of faith in Jesus as the Christ—faith working by love." He commonly spoke of himself as an Evangelical Reformer—the title he gave to the first of his Journals, published (December 30, 1837–May 30, 1840) whilst he was still in the Methodist New Connexion. The second Journal, edited by him in conjunction with William

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Trotter, *The Christian Investigator* (1842-3), reveals the influence of Quakerism. Its object was declared to be to inculcate those views which form the most distinctive feature of the new society of Brethren and resemble the early constitution of the Society of Friends. The Journal, however, which was especially representative of the Christian Brethren Movement was *The Christian*, which circulated extensively amongst the members of the societies from 1844 to 1848. Into it Barker poured forth his views on theological and ecclesiastical topics and recorded the progress of the movement in the country. In an early number he wrote : " I know of no name that would exactly fit me ; besides, I do not want a name to declare or point out my opinions. . . . I want a name that points out or declares my faith, my hope, my Christianity. . . . My opinions are almost always undergoing some changes, so that if I were to take to myself a name from my opinions I must be frequently changing my name. But, while my opinions undergo changes, my faith, my hope, my love remain the same, and the name Christian serves me to the last." When he wrote this Barker did not foresee that his changes of opinion would lead him eventually to renounce the name of Christian. The churches he founded, so long as they existed, retained the name, and it still distinguishes the few which represent all that is left of the Christian Brethren Movement.

As may be imagined, not all the churches followed Barker in every turn of his changing opinions, and he occasionally regretted the reliance of the weaker brethren upon the machinery of ecclesiastical government—Committees, Presidents, majority votes, and the like. But everywhere the service was what is known as open, free from the slightest suspicion of the liturgic and ritualistic practices which to Barker and his brethren were little more than meaningless and hypocritical devices of a

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crafty priesthood. Probably Barker wrote nothing more scathing than his *Sixteen Lectures on the Church of England Prayer Book*, dedicated, without permission, to J. G. Marshall, Esq., M.P. for Leeds—a zealous supporter of the church by law established. Even the liturgies he found in Unitarian chapels were anathema to Barker, as was also the use of manuscript in preaching. In both particulars the Christian Brethren were true to their leader. Besides the expulsion of Barker and his friends from the Methodist New Connexion, the decade before the middle of the nineteenth century witnessed many withdrawals and exclusions of lay preachers from other branches of the Methodist Church in different parts of the country, which swelled the movement of which Barker was acknowledged chief. In one aspect of it the Christian Brethren Movement represented a rational defence of Christianity against the assaults of Owenism, with whose champions Barker had several successful encounters. The substance of these discussions, entitled *Christianity Triumphant*, was published in 1841.

A few ministers, like William Trotter, Amos Dyson, and Thomas Sturges, who left the New Connexion with Barker, found the pace of his progress towards heresy much too hot, and retraced their steps. Of other preachers amongst the Brethren something must be said. Alexander McCombe, a former minister in the New Connexion, after service with the Christian Brethren, became a regularly accredited Unitarian divine at Crediton, Idle, and Colyton.

GEORGE BROWN, OF BARNARD CASTLE,

originally a Wesleyan Methodist, joined the little Christian Church in that village, meeting first in the house of Archibald Elliott, father of William Elliott, afterwards a Unitarian minister. A little later the Society acquired a

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meeting room in Broad Gates, on the very spot where, by a curious coincidence, John Wesley had first preached in that district. Brown was a friend and correspondent of Barker, and quickly became a preacher and lecturer to the Christian Brethren, and to the larger public which he frequently addressed in the open air. He set up a printing press, wrote for some time under the *nom de plume* of "A Layman," and was the author of treatises on *The Satisfaction Theory*, *Jewish Sacrifices*, *Scriptural Views of Christ*, and numerous tracts. For a short period he also edited a Journal entitled *The Christian Intelligencer* (founded May 1847). George Brown was a man of remarkable ability and of deep religious convictions. From an office boy in a solicitor's office he became a barrister-at-law, the founder of the *Darlington and Stockton Times*, one of the originators of the local Mechanics' Institute, secretary of the local railway, and clerk of the Board of Health, whilst for a quarter of a century he was lay minister to the Society represented by the present Unitarian congregation of Barnard Castle. In the defence of his religious opinions Brown spared no effort. His correspondence with the Rev. Thomas Hamer, an Independent minister, reveals his acquaintance with the biblical editors and commentators of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. A curious argument employed by Hamer was that the Anti-Trinitarians were unkind to God. He said they did not wish to allow Him what they liked themselves, namely, Society ; and wanted to make Him a desolate Being like Robinson Crusoe. George Brown died March 12, 1868, and the present Unitarian Chapel, erected to his memory, was opened September 20, 1870. A volume of his sermons, edited by James Heywood, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., with a Preface by J. J. Tayler and a Memoir by Brooke Herford, was published in 1871.

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THOMAS OLDHAM AND SILAS HENN

A very different type of man was Thomas Oldham, lay minister of the Christian Church at Dukinfield, of whom a sketch was drawn by the Rev. George Fox. Oldham "had been a lay preacher in the Methodist New Connexion, and had come out with Barker, preaching at the several stations of the Brethren but stationed at Dukinfield. He was not a man of culture, but he had a ready tongue, a lively imagination, an earnest and dramatic manner. If he spoke on the Prodigal Son, he would leave the pulpit and walk down the aisle to meet the returning wanderer. If he referred to the miracle of the loaves and fishes, he would distribute the morsels with the requisite movement of hands. If he spoke about heaven, he would mount the pulpit seat to indicate the upward ascent. There was great naturalness in these peculiarities. They were by no means artifices of the orator. He was a hearty, simple-minded man." Silas Henn, another ex-Methodist local preacher in the New Connexion, who ministered to the Christian Churches at Tipton and Oldbury, could write and speak with considerable effectiveness. Barker strongly commended him to the Unitarians for his missionary enterprise, and he owed his Meeting House at Tipton to their generosity. He was the author of tracts on *Freedom of Inquiry* and *The Romish Church*, and for a time ran a small periodical entitled *The Herald of Truth*. Seeking in vain for Methodist discipline, prayer meetings, and revivals in the Unitarian fold, and lacking a firm foundation for his liberal faith, he renounced Unitarianism in 1851 and printed and published a pamphlet on his reception of Christ as Lord and God in which he roundly abused Unitarians as men without religion, piety, or morality. The rigid, uncompromising character of David Thomas, of Bury, has been already shown in his theory and practice of Christian marriage.

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THE MOSSLEY CHRISTIAN BRETHERN

At Mossley, where Barker had been a New Connexion minister from 1837 to 1839, a vigorous Christian Church was formed under the leadership of James Robinson. Born in the year 1800, Robinson had been a lay preacher in the New Connexion for twenty-one years when he followed Barker out of that body. His life story in a large measure is that of the Society with which he was connected until his death in June 1864. He was, we are told, "the most public-spirited man in Mossley, and the most talented in the conduct of public affairs." The formation of a relief committee during the Cotton Famine was due to his efforts, as was also the adoption of the Local Government Act, and from its establishment until his death he was a member of the Local Board. At Lees the leading spirit was Festus Fielden, one of the original trustees of the chapel built in 1849, an acceptable preacher in the district, and a warm friend of the Chartist movement. He is said to have been a man "remarkable for his sterling integrity, his amiable disposition, and the persuasive character and convincing force of his eloquence." Such were the captains Barker gathered round his banner. All were men of strong character, firm of purpose and fearless in act. Almost without exception they were enthusiastic advocates of Total Abstinence, and strongly opposed to the use of tobacco in any form. They were all self-taught and keenly interested in education. Amongst Barker's adherents, who occasionally conducted services for the Christian Brethren, was Dr. F. R. Lees, of Leeds, the well-known temperance lecturer. With the exception of George Brown, of Barnard Castle, none of the preachers had enjoyed anything like an academic education, though all were diligent students of Scripture and, within their natural limits, lovers of learning. Barker himself had little

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Hebrew, but could read the New Testament in Greek, was well acquainted with Latin, and knew a little French and German. At one time he actually contemplated the publication of a translation of the New Testament into modern English. His reading was wide if not deep, and, considering the circumstances of his education and the strenuous nature of his pursuits, formed not the least remarkable feature of his character.

In the Sunday Schools of the Christian Brethren, as in those of the Methodist Unitarians of the first half of the century, secular education was the rule, and at many of their stations libraries and reading rooms were established. The library at Hanley, built up by donations from the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, the Unitarian Chapel at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and private benefactors, was opened on October 4, 1845. At Bramley, in April of the following year, the library numbered 600 volumes with 300 readers, besides a public reading room. In 1845 libraries were opened at Tunstall, Longton, Etruria, and Stoke. The religious atmosphere in which the Christian Brethren Movement was born was one of fire and brimstone. "In those days," observes George Fox, "the doctrine of Hell fire was not forgotten in the Methodist pulpits, and the substitutionary character of Christ's death was regularly preached." He then describes a sermon he heard in which the preacher, "in a most vivid way, represented God the Father as full of rage, with a drawn sword ready to fall upon his prostrate, helpless children. But, at the crucial moment, God the Son stepped in, and called out : ' Spare them, let the sword fall on me.' The preacher enlarged with excited gestures, pleading, agonized voice, and fiery eloquence on this dramatic scene, and then described how God the Father accepted the sacrifice. The avenging sword fell upon the innocent body of Christ, and mankind was restored to the Divine favour." In opposition

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to such horrible doctrine, Barker and his colleagues did inestimable service.

BARKER AT NEWCASTLE

According to Methodist historians, twenty-nine churches with 4,348 members were lost to the Methodist New Connexion by the expulsion of Joseph Barker. In the course of a few years many hundreds more—members of the various Methodist churches—became followers of the heretic. Barker was stationed in 1841 at Newcastle-on-Tyne. Here the Salem Church, numbering 200 members, together with the trustees, withdrew from the conference and enlisted his services for three Sundays a month. He was not required to make any declaration of belief, and refused a salary, though the Society made itself responsible for his support. His frank heresies quickly led to the withdrawal of the more conservative members. He thereupon refused all recompense for preaching, resolved to support himself by his own efforts as a printer, and organized the church more or less after the model of a Quaker meeting. Whilst at Newcastle he held a theological discussion with the Rev. (afterwards Dr.) William Cooke, one of the most eminent of the New Connexion divines, in which he acquitted himself with conspicuous ability. His bold defence of Unitarian opinions brought him into close relations with the Hanover Square Church, Newcastle, and its minister, the Rev. Joseph McAlester. On May 4, 1844, after a meeting of the Christian Brethren in St. Nicholas Square, the whole assembly, with Barker at their head, adjourned for the evening service to the Unitarian Chapel, which they packed to overflowing.

BARKER'S PRESS

In February 1845 Barker made a memorable tour amongst the London Unitarian churches, when a Committee

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was appointed to solicit funds for the purpose of presenting him with a printing press. In July of the same year he removed to Wortley, near Leeds, and set up his press there in conjunction with his four brothers, who were his staunchest supporters. Partly his reason for removal was the desire to be nearer the populous districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, where the "Christian" churches were chiefly situated. On July 6, 1846, the steam printing press, costing in all over £634, was presented to him. Dr. (afterwards Sir) John Bowring, then M.P. for Bolton, laid on the first sheet, and Dr. Joseph Bateman, another prominent Unitarian, took it off. A dinner provided for the guests was served in one of the rooms of Barker's warehouse on a table of which the legs were made by heaping up piles of printed tracts. The Barker Library, which was quickly launched, included original contributions and reprints of standard works, and earned for the founder of the Christian Brethren Movement a place as a pioneer of cheap literature. An eightpenny edition of Channing spread a knowledge of the American Unitarian divine from one end of the country to another. Before October 1846—fifteen months after he had set up his press at Wortley—Barker had published and distributed 30,000 copies of a volume of *Channing's Works*, a Hymn Book, Law's *Serious Call*, Taylor on *Original Sin*, Priestley on *The Miraculous Conception*, 15,000 copies of *Elwall's Trial*, 12,000 copies of *A Hundred Arguments for the Anti-Trinitarian Belief*, 16,000 *Questions to Trinitarians*, a volume of *Anecdotes and Lessons*, and many others. For the British and Foreign Unitarian Association he sold, in 1846, 11,000 copies of tracts and pamphlets by Clarke, Acton, Carpenter, and Locke. The first volume of the Barker Library was *Memoirs and Documents relating to American Slavery*, the second was a *Life of William Penn*—their titles and precedence indicating Barker's

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political and religious predilections. He began in July with one printer; at the end of the year he employed seventeen. It was his ambition to see a library as regular a feature of every cottage as a pantry, and he hoped by placing cheap books in the hands of the working classes to convert factories into colleges, where, during the dinner hour, books and pamphlets would be read aloud and discussions held on theological and other subjects. The publications of Joseph Barker and George Brown proved invaluable in spreading liberal doctrine amongst the Christian Brethren. As lecturer and preacher, Barker travelled almost incessantly throughout the British Isles. The record of his journeys is amazing. In Quaker Meeting Houses, Unitarian Chapels, and Christian Brethren's rooms, in factories, in the market places, in the fields, and in the open street, Barker preached or lectured for two or three hours at a stretch to crowded assemblies of men and women, who dispersed only when darkness fell, or a heavy downpour of rain made it impossible to continue the discussion. Indoor meetings were frequently protracted until after midnight. In Newcastle and elsewhere his appeals to Scripture in defence of his principles led to an unprecedented sale of bibles. "In coal pits and in workshops, by the fireside, and at the corner of streets; on Sundays and weekdays, morning, noon, and night, the question was 'What saith the Scriptures?'" Barker often reproved the Unitarians whom he met for putting their light under a bushel. At Birmingham (December 13, 1845) he told them they had been too long "satisfied with their wide Presbyterian pews and tub-like pulpits. Walk forth," he said, "and spread the truth in the world." By the Christian Brethren the holding of public worship in their chapels was esteemed less imperative than the preaching of their gospel to the unchurched multitudes outside the organized communities of Christendom.

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As might be anticipated, Barker and his friends met with bitter opposition from orthodox opponents. One journal declined advertisements of Barker's lectures. He was threatened with punishment, physical and spiritual, here and hereafter. At Aysgarth, whilst lecturing at the Friends' Meeting House, he tells us, "a wild young man aspired to do me some mischief, and to put to trial my non-resistance principles." In Wensleydale, Lord Bolton informed his tenants how greatly he was dissatisfied with their conduct in listening to Barker, who, he declared, "had expressed opinions of a blasphemous and dangerous tendency," and he trusted "they would see their folly and the danger they exposed themselves to." In the local newspaper there an advertisement for a Parish Clerk and Schoolmaster concluded with the singular words: "No follower of the heretic Joseph Barker of Newcastle need apply." At Selby (April 1846) bills were publicly circulated warning the people against this "dangerous man going up and down the country spreading infidelity." A signed letter from Newcastle (February 5, 1845), written, it was said, under direction of the Lord, warned Barker that in six months he would be a dead man "if he did not repent of the evil he had done and was still about to do." A later correspondent inquired of him how "he would feel on his death-bed, when the devil was sitting on his bosom with his great horns, and boring holes through his soul with red-hot gimlets"; whilst Barker's evil thoughts were picturesquely described as "the cormorants that sit on the apple-trees in the devil's kale-yard, which feed on the souls of the damned." In Cornwall, in the summer of 1848, an orthodox minister told his people that "they might as well have sent for the devil himself to come into the country as for Joseph Barker." But hard words did not turn Barker from his course, and a note forbidding him to visit Goole on pain of severe bodily punishment was

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treated as lightly as the assured prospect of eternal torments in hell. Rumours were set on foot from time to time that he had taken his life, and one, particularly circumstantial, even found its way into print to the effect that he had been found dead in a wood near Otley with his throat cut and a razor in his right hand. His wife and family grew rather accustomed to his violent deaths, and took them as a matter of course. Barker and his colleagues would occasionally court opposition by visiting Methodist Lovefeasts and other meetings where they might have an opportunity to bear their testimony, and once or twice the police escorted them to the door. Sometimes the unexpected happened. At Plymouth, in April 1846, the effect of Barker's eloquence was to win over to his views a local minister, a Mr. Burgess, said to be mighty in the Scriptures, who came to curse the heretic and remained to bless him. At the end of the discussion he offered his pulpit to Barker, and on the following Sunday himself announced to his congregation his conversion to the new teaching.

CHURCHES FOUNDED BY CHRISTIAN BRETHREN

Of the churches founded by the Christian Brethren many had no buildings of their own, but met on Sundays and during the week when necessary in a hired room or private house. Barker always advised his followers not to build unless they were unable to secure suitable premises, and, if they did build, to avoid anything like ecclesiastical structures, having regard to the many purposes for which the meeting room should be used. The story of the Society at Barnard Castle has been already told in connexion with the ministry of George Brown. The congregation at Mossley, formed immediately after Barker's expulsion from Methodism in 1841 under the leadership of James Robinson, established a preaching room in an old building, familiarly known as The Old Garret. Robinson and the

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rest of the heads of the new Society retained their places in the New Connexion Sunday School until October 1850, when, after a stormy meeting, Robinson and his supporters were expelled. One reason for the ejection was that Robinson had occupied the pulpits of the Dukinfield and Gee Cross Chapels. Consequently, on March 23, 1851, a Sunday school was established by the Christian Brethren, who now drew closer to the Unitarians. Even much earlier, under the direction of Robinson and the inspiration of Barker, who frequently visited the Society, the church had made good progress in the liberal faith. In May 1844 Robinson wrote to his leader : “ My course is clear. I want no restraints but what the gospel lays on men. I do not plead for a belief in the theory of satisfaction, or in certain notions about the constitution of Christ, before I receive a person into fellowship. I do not, in fact, make opinion a condition of fellowship with me at all.” Amos Dyson, a ministerial colleague of Barker, who was the pastor of the new congregation for a short time, denounced such toleration as Anti-Christian, whereupon the Brethren gave him a quarter’s stipend in lieu of notice and resolved henceforth to maintain an unpaid ministry. Dyson had been Superintendent Minister in the Stalybridge circuit of the Methodist New Connexion in 1837, and in 1841, whilst at Mossley, published a pamphlet on *The Constitution and Discipline of the Primitive Church*. Subsequently he became a Baptist. At Mossley, as elsewhere, the Christian Brethren met regularly for prayer and scriptural study, and a copy of Adam Clarke’s Commentary, used for purposes of reference, passed into the temporary possession of the first Unitarian minister appointed in 1859. On October 20, 1852, the present Christian Church at Mossley was opened. The Trust Deed, dated August 2, 1853, describes the congregation as one “ of Persons of the Christian name who by some are called Christian Brethren

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and by others Unitarians," and provides that "The Christian faith to be taught and maintained shall be deemed and defined to consist of a sincere belief in Jesus Christ as God's Messenger, and a corresponding uniformity of life with Christ's precepts and example, and that in all disputed points of belief . . . each member of the said church or congregation, and each of the teachers in the said school shall be at liberty to accept or reject all or any of them, endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace." The chapel, a large plain building capable of holding 800 persons with schoolroom beneath, and beneath that again a classroom and a cottage, was built on the side of a hill, and from the back looks like a factory. The music in the chapel was provided by a large choir led by a bassoon. Robinson kept the Society together when Barker had ceased to be interested in Liberal Christianity, and it was due to his influence that the prejudice against a "hired ministry" was overcome and a student of the Unitarian Home Missionary Board appointed in 1859 minister of the church. Seven years later a number of the members of the Mossley Church, who had migrated to Manchester, founded the congregation at Whitfield Street, Ardwick, which led to the erection in 1883 of the Longsight Free Christian Church.

At Mottram practically all the congregation of the Methodist New Connexion Chapel, originally of Wesleyan Methodist foundation, followed Barker in 1841. They continued for a few years to occupy the chapel as tenants of the New Connexion, the authorities of which apparently hoped that Barker's influence would soon fade away and the members of the Society return to the true faith. The minister was the Rev. Thomas Sturges, who had left the Methodist New Connexion with Barker. He is said to have been so vehement in his utterances that "he frightened the young and timid so that they were afraid to

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stir from their seats." Ultimately he broke with his leader, and left the Christian Brethren Movement. Mottram then abandoned the "hired ministry," but occasionally were assisted by Unitarian ministers—the first of these being the Rev. Franklin Howorth, of Bury, who preached at Mottram as early as 1841. Barker himself preached there (March 15, 1846) to a crowded congregation—the women setting the example of getting into the window seats to accommodate those unable to gain admission into the building. At this time the school is said to have numbered five hundred scholars, some of whom were taught in an old upper room and the rest in the chapel. The trustees of the chapel had given the heretics notice to quit, being disappointed in their expectation that the movement would collapse. The Brethren, therefore, acquired land for a chapel, and though there were none among them who did not work for their bread they raised £100 for their land and building scheme. From Unitarian friends in the district they received generous assistance, and the new chapel was opened November 15, 1846. The Trust Deed, dated October 17, 1846, declares that the congregation consists of "persons of the Christian name and faith" who "meet together on the Lord's Day and other days and times to hear the word of God preached and expounded, to attend the administration of the Lord's Supper, and reading, praying, conversation, and other acts of Divine Service," whilst the "Christian faith" is further defined as "a sincere belief in the Being and undivided Unity of Almighty God, the Divine Mission of Christ Jesus exemplified in his life, miracles, death, and resurrection, the authority of the Holy Scriptures as a revelation of the will of God . . . and that in all other points of doctrine and discipline each member of the said Church is at liberty to think and act as seems best to himself without molestation or expulsion, endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit

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in the bond of peace." The preachers at the opening services were : morning, Dr. F. R. Lees ; afternoon, Joseph Barker ; evening, Rev. R. Brook Aspland, of Dukinfield Old Chapel. No fewer than a thousand were present at the afternoon service, and in addition Mr. Aspland addressed a large congregation, in the lower room, of people unable to hear Barker. The vicar of the parish, a man of worthless character, offered the Brethren a bitter opposition. He endeavoured to persuade his parishioners who were employers of labour to discharge employees associated with the Christian Church, and defended this practice from the pulpit in controversy with Brook Aspland. At the same time an attempt was made, by a house-to-house visitation, to secure the burning of Barker's books and publications under veiled threats of eviction and of loss of employment. The shape of the new chapel gave rise to the sneer of its adversaries that it had been built in such a style in order that it could easily be converted into cottage houses. But the Brethren flourished under persecution. The New Connexion Chapel, from which they had been expelled, was, on the contrary, compelled to close its doors for lack of support, and eventually passed into the hands of the Independents. Following the example of the church at Mossley, the congregation became in due course associated with the Unitarian movement.

At Macclesfield, a chapel in Parsonage Street, formerly in possession of the Methodist New Connexion, was acquired by the Christian Brethren in April 1847. Many of the Brethren had been teachers in the school attached to King Edward Street Chapel who found their advanced theological and political opinions obnoxious to the leaders of that congregation. The Parsonage Street Chapel was occupied by the Society until its amalgamation with the Unitarian congregation in 1884.

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At Bolton the Methodist New Connexion Chapel (erected 1818, as a result of divisions in the congregation and financial difficulties) was sold to the Church of England and its minister ordained perpetual curate in 1841. Not all the members of the congregation followed their minister. The conservatives joined another Methodist chapel in the town, the radicals commenced services in a room over a saw-pit in Green Street, off Moor Lane. The Independent Christian Church, as it was called, was under the influence of Barker, who preached occasionally in the saw-pit room. A few years later another room in Acres Field, previously occupied by the Friends, was taken for worship and known as the "Christian Brethren's Meeting Room." The chief minister was Richard Carling, an ex-Methodist local preacher, and services were continued until May 13, 1855, when the Society was dissolved—most of the members joining Bank Street Chapel, a few returning to the Methodist New Connexion.

At Pudsey, near Leeds, the existing Unitarian Church owes its origin to the Society of Christian Brethren which dated from 1844. Barker preached there in the open air for the first time in the summer of 1846 to an assembly of 1,400 people, and estimated that he had sold in the village 80-100 copies of Channing's works, besides other books and tracts. At the neighbouring village of Stanningley, reputed to be one of the rudest and most uncivilized villages in Yorkshire, the Christian Brethren began to meet in 1845 for worship and discussion in the house of one of their number. Eighteen months later, in consequence of increasing numbers, they sought to secure a larger room, but failed to effect their purpose through the opposition of the orthodox. In October 1848, however, they obtained and furnished a long upper room, used aforetime as a weaving room, which would hold two or three hundred

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people. They had a school of fifty scholars. The minister in charge was a Mr. Wheater—a working man—and he and his congregation were on good terms with the Unitarian congregation at Chapel Lane, Bradford. An influential member of the Society was Richard Varley (1815–49), formerly a Wesleyan Methodist, who had become a Unitarian before the Christian Church was founded. A man of means and culture, he exercised a steadying influence on the Society until his death. Ultimately the congregation was dispersed amongst the Unitarian churches of Pudsey and Bradford.

At Oldbury the Christian Church had a peculiar origin. It was founded as a Christian Chartist Church by Arthur O'Neill—one of several such churches in the neighbourhood of Birmingham. The Christian Chartists had a hymn-book of their own, and a Government commissioner “sent to inquire into the causes of the strike which engulfed Chartism in the Black Country in 1842 actually attended a Christian Chartist Tea Party and reports a sermon he heard from O'Neill.”¹ The Christian Chartist movement was short-lived. In 1846 the Sunday School at this station numbered a hundred scholars. A curious practice observed by the Society dated from its early days. At their tea parties the edibles were distributed in paper bags, not by way of reversion to primitive Christian communism, but in order, it was said, to frustrate the habit of certain young men attending them, who used to challenge one another and bet wagers as to who should eat most on these festive occasions. Gradually, under the leadership of Silas Henn, the minister of the Christian Church at Tipton, the Society at Oldbury became orthodox. Silas Henn became a follower of Barker in 1845. He preached in private houses and in the open air until 1848, when an appeal to Unitarians for a sum of £600 was made by

¹ Hovell: *The Chartist Movement*, p. 201.

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twenty-two Unitarian ministers and laymen in the district and a chapel was built for his congregation. It was opened November 20, 1849. The building was plain and substantial, with accommodation for three hundred people. There was a vestry under the Meeting House used for the purposes of a library and classes. At Shelton, Staffordshire, a meeting room for the Brethren was opened in 1846 by means of subscriptions by Unitarian friends, and five years later the Society had a school of 120 scholars. The chief supporters of the movement were working men, and the secretary was a potter in the village.

The Society at Evenwood, near Bishop Auckland, Durham, met in a Primitive Methodist Chapel (vacated through secessions), which they rented. Its members were drawn from the Primitive Methodists and the Wesleyan Association, and its ministers were a railway platelayer and a colliery smith. At Reeth, near Richmond, the Society worshipped in an inn, in a room fitted up for the purpose by the innkeeper and provided with a desk. The services were conducted by a watchmaker, with some assistance from other Christian Brethren ministers in the neighbourhood. At Gilling, another village near Richmond, the chief minister was a Mr. Christian, who for fifty years had been a Wesleyan local preacher and class leader, whose Methodist class formed the nucleus of the new Society. The church at Dukinfield, built by the Christian Brethren with the aid of local Unitarians at a cost of £300, was known as the Astley Street School and Temperance Hall. It was a plain brick building of two stories, the upper part of which, a little raised above the street, was fitted up as a place of worship. It was opened September 13, 1846, and four years later there was a Sunday school here of 150 scholars. Its minister, Thomas Oldham, has been already described. Another station in the vicinity of Dukinfield, greatly indebted to the generous support of the members

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of the Old Chapel, was that of Newton, where in 1850 was a school of 150 scholars whose teachers were young men virtually ejected from the Methodist New Connexion for their adhesion to Barker.

At Etruria, Staffordshire, the building in which the Christian Brethren met was the property of Francis Wedgwood, one of the members of the famous family of potters, who not infrequently attended their meetings. The school was held here, whilst worship was generally, though not invariably, conducted in the neighbouring town of Hanley. Corporal punishment was forbidden in the school, and no prizes were offered for attendance or scholastic progress. The Etruria room was opened on Good Friday, 1846.

At Arkendale, near Knaresborough, the Society was composed mainly of Wesleyan Methodists who had followed Robert Raisbeck—a popular local preacher—expelled from the Old Connexion for denying the doctrine of natural depravity and for other heretical opinions. At Gateshead, the Grosvenor Street Chapel, formerly occupied by the Primitive Methodists, was acquired by the Brethren in 1846. At Bramley, near Leeds, the Christian Brethren opened a room on April 26, 1846, capable of holding four hundred people. It was built on a plot of land bought by the Brethren for £300 whilst still in the Methodist New Connexion—the Society having followed Barker as a body in 1841. A room occupied from the time of their withdrawal from Methodism proved too small for their increasing numbers. At King Cross, Halifax, the Brethren met originally in a cottage inhabited by one of their number (James Whitehead). Later they hired a larger room, but were evicted by the landlord when he learnt the nature of their opinions. Subsequently (October 16, 1847) they opened a commodious room in Trafalgar. Barker's brother William, and the Revs.

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W. Turner and J. H. Ryland, the Unitarian ministers of Halifax and Bradford, conducted the opening services. Next day the usual tea party was held, at which Joseph Barker was present and recalled his Methodist ministry in Halifax seventeen years earlier.

At Lees, near Oldham, the Brethren followed Barker out of the Methodist New Connexion in 1841, meeting originally in a room near the Red Lion Inn known as "the old garret." In 1849 they built a chapel (opened July 29), where they held services and conducted a Sunday school until September 1907, when the present school-chapel was opened. The old building was sold to the Urban District Council (November 21, 1908), and is now used as their offices. The first deed (August 6, 1849) does not state that the land was acquired for the erection of a school or chapel, but "for the erection of one or more good and substantial dwelling house or dwelling houses or other building of brick or stone." Probably this phraseology was dictated by the desire of the Trustees to secure the site without opposition. An Indenture dated May 18, 1870, declares that the "said buildings were and are intended for the instruction of young persons, and for the public worship of Almighty God according to the tenets and practice of Protestant Dissenters of the denomination known as Christian Brethren, and for moral and other educational purposes." The poverty of the Brethren and their sympathizers at this centre is seen in the appeal for support in 1849, which states that several of their number had undertaken to collect within three months the sum of half-a-crown each. Until twenty years ago the Society at Lees remained an isolated congregation of Christian Brethren. It then became connected with the Independents, and is now known as the Christian Brethren Congregational Church.

At Bradford the Christian Brethren first met for worship in the Temperance Hall, and afterwards in a

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school in Croft Street, Manchester Road. On November 23, 1841, Joseph Barker laid the foundation stone of a new church in Croft Street. The minister was the Rev. William Trotter, who had been expelled from the Methodist New Connexion at the same time as Barker. Next year, however, he withdrew from association with the heretic. The two men became bitterly estranged, and Trotter published a pamphlet entitled *Necessary Explanations*, dealing with the differences. He afterwards joined the Plymouth Brethren. At Heyrod, near Mossley, an undenominational Sunday school was officered by members of the Congregational Church, the Methodist New Connexion, and the Christian Brethren, and services were conducted by orthodox and heterodox preachers in turn until December 1888, when the East Cheshire Union removed it from the list of stations they supplied on account of the decline in the number of Unitarians in the village. From time to time a Unitarian minister is still invited to preach at Heyrod.

In many towns and villages the Christian Brethren, like the minor sects of our own day, had no settled abode. In addition to those named, meeting rooms were opened, some of them being built by the Brethren, at the following centres : Hexham, Longton, Sneyd Green near Burslem, Galloping Green near Newcastle, Stoke, Washerwall (Potteries), Greenfield near Oldham, Penzance, Brighouse, Bury, Red Street (Potteries), Tunstall, and Manchester (Booth Street). Dr. Joseph Bateman, describing the progress of the Christian Brethren Movement in the North of England (July 13, 1844), said : " Barker's labours as preacher and lecturer are incessant. . . . He has established churches at different places in the North of England, nearly twenty in number, which he occasionally visits. . . . At one meeting, at which I was present, of nearly 2,000 persons he spoke with great power for above

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two hours and a half in support of the Dissenters' Chapels Bill. I attended several of his Church meetings, and lectured to his people to an audience of 1,200."

The Rev. Thomas Cooper, who was appointed by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association Missionary amongst the Christian Brethren in the Potteries for two periods of six months each, reported in 1845, at the expiration of the first period, that he had distributed large numbers of books and tracts amongst them, and had preached regularly at Etruria, Longton, Stoke, Hanley, Tunstall, and Washerwall. He added: "their numbers are very considerable, and they are the objects of universal dislike to the orthodox, by whom they are everywhere spoken against." He protested against the prevailing view amongst Unitarians that the Christian Brethren were lacking in "devotional exercises or in a devotional spirit." He admitted that "a few amongst them did not practise public social worship, but these were the exception. As a whole they are advocates of singing and prayer, attend to the Lord's Supper, and in some cases maintain their class meetings for the inculcation of practical religion." Two of the preachers amongst the Christian Brethren were converted to Unitarianism by Cooper, namely, a Mr. Towers, formerly an itinerant Methodist minister, and a Mr. Dennis of Leek. Next year (1846) the Rev. Franklin Howorth published an article on the "Anti-Trinitarian Churches in Connection with Joseph Barker,"¹ in which he says: "Many left the Methodist New Connexion on Barker's expulsion, particularly in the churches at Newcastle-on-Tyne, Gateshead, Bradford, Stalybridge, Mottam, and Newton. A numerous body, with near thirty preachers, separated from Conference in the Staffordshire Potteries. Considerable secessions took place at Hawarden, Stockport, Dukinfield, Oldham, Leeds, Delph, Mossley,

¹ *Unitarianism Exhibited in its Actual Condition*, p. 169.

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Hirst, Ashton, Manchester, Pendleton, Bolton, Bramley, Huddersfield, Berry Brow, Paddock, Lindley, South Shields, and in many other places. There are at present about two hundred churches, with an average of about thirty members each." In August 1847 Travers Madge contributed to the *Christian Reformer* an account of the Christian Churches in the Potteries which he had visited. He enumerates ten churches, that of Hanley, with fifty members and an average attendance of a hundred, being the strongest. In all, he estimated that between six and seven hundred persons were in more or less regular attendance at their public services. All the congregations met in schoolrooms adapted for the purpose, the room at Stoke having been built by the Brethren. He observed amongst the body generally a want of healthy union and co-operation. Barker did not accept without demur the statements of Travers Madge. He claimed that there were nearly three thousand Christian Brethren in the Potteries, though admitting that those who united for public worship constituted but a small proportion of their total number. He further declared that their churches throughout the country numbered upwards of three hundred, but confessed that in point of membership they varied very greatly, some churches containing not more than a dozen or a score of members, others having congregations of several hundreds. The entire body of those holding the principles of the Christian Brethren he concluded to be no fewer than thirty to forty thousand. Arithmetic, it may be surmised, was not Barker's strongest point, nor was it easy for him to form any reliable estimate of the numerical strength of the Brethren in the country. Undoubtedly he addressed vast audiences whenever he went on tour, but his hearers were not all actively associated with the Christian Brethren Movement. Yet when every allowance is made there is ample evidence that the movement

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was one of the most popular in the history of Liberal Christianity.

Of the peculiar discipline of the Brethren something has been said. Anything like uniformity was never attained by them, nor even deemed desirable. Whilst some churches observed forms for receiving and expelling members, others had no fixed arrangements for supplying the pulpits. Despite the Quaker influence, many of the Societies retained much of the Methodist system—Love Feasts, Prayer Meetings, Class Meetings, and even Camp Meetings. Where the churches were sufficiently numerous, as in the Potteries and in the districts round Halifax, Mossley, and Barnard Castle, district meetings were held for the purpose of arranging Preachers' Plans. Each Society elected its own lay preacher, who, with an appointed delegate, represented it at the district meetings. A Preachers' Plan (February-April 1844) shows a staff of thirty-eight preachers supplying twenty-two Christian churches situated within a radius of twelve to fifteen miles—Newton to Mottram on one side, to Stockport on another, and to Rochdale and Bury on the other sides. Barker himself after his settlement at Wortley set comparatively little value on any form of ecclesiastical organization or on public worship itself, and attached more importance to lecturing and to the printing and circulation of cheap editions of Liberal and Unitarian literature. From him also was derived the strong antipathy of the Christian Brethren to pew or seat rents and even to public collections during service. The later history of these Christian churches is wrapped in obscurity. Many seem to have become associated with the Independent Methodists. The rejection by the latter of a separate and salaried ministry, and their affinities to the Friends, which for a time gave them the title of Quaker Methodists, proved highly attractive to the Christian Brethren. Others joined

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the Bible Christians and the United Methodists. A few returned to the parent body. Amongst these was the Muslin Street Church, in the Stalybridge circuit. Those which by the middle of the century were Unitarian in all but name have been already described. In addition to Mossley, Mottram, Dukinfield (Astley Street), and Macclesfield (Parsonage Street), the following churches were supplied by the students of the Unitarian Home Missionary Board (now College) from 1854 to 1861: Clayton West near Huddersfield, Longton, Etruria, Hanley, Heyrod, Ramsbottom, and Red Street (Potteries). In the year 1848 Barker plunged head over ears into politics, and his weekly penny periodical *The People* (established May 27, 1848), which enjoyed a circulation of 20,000 copies each week, actively supported the Chartist programme and helped to widen the breach between the founder of the Christian Brethren Movement and his Unitarian patrons. Lacking the stability provided by a close organization, a consensus of doctrinal opinion, and a trained ministry, many of the Christian churches, sorely puzzled by their leader's theological vagaries or paralyzed by his final lapse into infidelity, quietly dissolved, and the short-lived Christian Brethren Movement perished. It had lived, however, long enough to spread Unitarian opinions far and wide, and to modify the harsher doctrines of orthodoxy in many a town and village throughout the country.

APPENDIX

KEY TO SIGNATURES IN *The Theological Repository*

R. = Rutt's edition of Priestley's Works.

M.R. = *Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature*.

D.N.B. = *Dictionary of National Biography*.

- (a) = List of names contributed to *M.R.* 1817, pp. 526-7, with authorities for identification.
- (b) = List of names found in a copy of the *Repository* formerly owned by an intimate friend of Priestley in Leeds, and contributed to *M.R.* 1817, p. 602.
- (c) = Names in the *Monthly Review* 1776 (vol. liv., p. 134) given by Priestley to Dr. Kippis. This list confirms (a) From it and from private sources; V.F. (William Turner secundus) adds names to (a) in *M.R.* 1817, p. 601. These additional names are marked (c) below.
- (d) = Names in a copy of the *Repository* in the Library at Summerville. These were written in October 1772.
- (e) = List of names additional to (a) given by William Hincks from Bretland's copy of the *Repository* in *M.R.* 1819, p. 533.

Signature	Vol.	Name of Contributor	Authority for identification & notes
Adjutor	i.	Rev. Joseph Bretland (D.N.B.)	(e) R. i., p. 379
A Christian	iv., v., vi.	do.	(e) do.
Philander (secundus)	iv., vi.	do.	(e) do.
Discipulus	iii., iv.	do.	(e) do.
A Lover of Order	vi.	do.	(e) do.
Anglo-Scotus	v., vi.	Rev. Thos. Fyshe Palmer (D.N.B.)	(a) <i>M.R.</i> 1811, p. 136. Turner's <i>Lives of Eminent Unitarians</i> , vol. ii., p. 221
Barumensis	ii.	Rev. Samuel Badcock (D.N.B.)	(a), (b) Badcock. Letter to Lindsey, R. i., p. 123
Pacificus	iii.	do.	(d), (e)
B.	ii.	do.	(e), (b) Gives Geo. Walker
Bereanus	ii.	J. Wright, M.D., Bristol	(a), (e) R. i., p. 135
Beryllus	iv.	Rev. Joseph Priestley (D.N.B.)	(a) Priestley himself in <i>T.R.</i> iii., p. 478 ; vi., p. 491
Biblicus	iv., v.	Rev. Joseph Priestley	(a) Priestley himself
Clemens	i., iii.	do.	(a) do.

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Signature	Vol.	Name of Contributor	Authority for identification & notes
Ebionita	iv., v.	Rev. Joseph Priestley	(a) Priestley himself
Hermas	iv., v., vi.	do.	(a) do
Josephus	iv., vi.	do.	(a) do.
Liberius	ii., iii.	do.	(a) do.
Pamphilus	iv., v., vi.	do.	(a) do.
Paulinus	i., ii., iii.	do.	(a) do.
Pelagius	iv.	do.	(a) do.
Photinus	iv.	do.	(a) do.
Scrutator	v., vi.	do.	(a) do.
Cautus	i.	Rev. N. Cappe (<i>D.N.B.</i>)	(c) R. i., p. 158
Christophilus	iv., v.	Rev. John Palmer (<i>D.N.B.</i>)	(a) Priestley, in <i>T.R.</i> vi., p. 223 ; R. i., p. 380
Erasmus	iv.	do.	(a) do.
Symmachus	iv., v.	do.	(a) do.
G. H.	i., ii.	do.	(a), (d) do.
Charistes	ii., iii.	Rev. S. Merivale (<i>D.N.B.</i>)	(a), (b), (d) Priestley. Letter to Merivale, R. i., p. 142
Erastus	iii.	Rev. Geo. Walker (<i>D.N.B.</i>)	(c), (d)
B.	ii.	do.	(b), (e) Gives Saml. Badcock
Ereunetes	v., vi.	Rev. Robt. Edw. Garnham	(a) <i>M.R.</i> 1815, p. 15 ; R. ii., p. 77
Idiota	vi.	do.	(a) do.
Eclecticus	i.	Rev. John Calder (<i>D.N.B.</i>)	(c)
Eubulus	v., vi.	Rev. Edward Evanson (<i>D.N.B.</i>)	(a) <i>M.R.</i> 1806. Priestley Letter to Bretland, R. i., p. 390. Turner's <i>Lives of Eminent Unitarians</i> , vol. ii., p. 135
Eusebius	i., ii., iii.	Rev. William Turner (<i>D.N.B.</i>)	(b), (c), (d), (e) Priestley. Letter to Lindsey, R. i., p. 112
Vigilius	i., ii., iii.	do.	(a), (b), (d) do. Turner's <i>Lives of Eminent Unitarians</i> , vol. ii., p. 350
Jodvadib	vi.	Rev. Job David, Frome	(c), (e)
John Buncle	i., ii.	Thos. Amory (<i>D.N.B.</i>)	(a), (b)
Marmos	vi.	John Marsom	(c) Memoir in <i>The Christian Reformer</i> , vol. xix., p. 491
Mathetes	v.	Rev. Harry Toulmin	(e) Priestley. Letter to J. Toulmin, R. i., p. 404

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Signature	Vol.	Name of Contributor	Authority for identification & notes
Davides	vi.	Rev. Harry Toulmin	(e)
Moderatus	iv., v.	Rev. Benj. Carpenter	(c), (e) R. i., p. 384
Mosaicus	vi.	Rev. Joshua Toulmin (D.N.B.)	(e) Priestley. R. i., p. 396
Philosoter	vi.	do.	(a) M.R. 1815, p. 674
Subsidiarius	vi.	do.	(a) do. R. i., p. 396
A. N.	ii., iii.	do.	(a), (d) do.
Nazaraeus	v.	Rev. John Wiche, Maidstone (D.N.B.)	J. Toulmin, M.R., vol. v., p. 413. Belsham (<i>Life of Lindsey</i> , p. 413) assigned it to Cappe, but Mrs. Cappe has not mentioned it in her life of Cappe.
Nepiodidaskalos	iv., v., vi.	Rev. Gilbert Wakefield (D.N.B.)	(c), (e) R. i., p. 384. <i>Memoir of Wakefield</i> , p. 519
Patrobas	i., ii., iii.	Rev. Theophilus Lindsey (D.N.B.)	(a) R. i., p. 101, 122-3. <i>Turner's Lives of Eminent Unitarians</i> , vol. ii., p. 33
Socrates			
Scholasticus	iii.	do.	(a) R. i., pp. 122-3.
Philalethes	ii., iv., vi.	Rev. Wm. Hazlitt	(a), (b), (d) R. i., p. 174
Rationalis	iii.	do.	(a), (b), (d) do.
Philander (Primus)	ii.	Rev. John Cameron (D.N.B.)	(c), (e) "A gentleman in the North of Ireland" (D.N.B.)
Phileleutherus	i., ii.	Rev. Paul Cardale (D.N.B.)	(a), (b), (d) R. i., p. 133
Vigorniensis			
Pyrrho	i., ii.	Rev. Wm. Graham	(b), (c), (e) R. i., p. 132
Sincerus	ii.	Rev. James Mackay, Belfast	(a), (d)
Theophilus	i., iii.	Rev. Joseph Mottershead (D.N.B.)	(a), (b), (c), (d)
Verus	i., ii.	Rev. John Brekell (D.N.B.)	(a), (b), (c), (d)
Essay on Praying in the name of Christ	i.	do.	(e)
Wideheath	v.	John Whitehead, Glodwick	(a) M.R. 1815, p. 188
A.B.C.	iii.	Dr. Williams, Sydenham	(a), (d)
A.O.C.	iii.	Rev. George Waters, Bridport	(a) M.R. 1815, p. 674
An Occasional Contributor	ii.	do.	(e) Both articles sent by S. Merivale. M.R. 1819, p. 533

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Signature	Vol.	Name of Contributor	Authority for identification & notes
C.R.		Rev. Caleb Rotheram	R. i., p. 122
J.B.	ii.	Rev. Mr. Smith, Bridlington (d)	
-r.	iii.	Rev. Jeremiah Gill, Gainsborough	(c) This writer claims authorship of Re- marks on Lardner's Treatise in vol. i.
G.	v.	do.	(e)
Remarks on Dr. Lardner's Treatise on the Logos	i.	do.	(a), (e)
J.F.	iii.	Rev. Jotham Foljambe, Selby	(b), (d)
S.C.	ii.	? Rev. Samuel Clark	(a) Against this, see p. 5
U.	i.	Rev. Thomas Scott (<i>D.N.B.</i>)	(a), (b), (c), (d) R. i., p. 40
W.W.	i., ii., iii.	Rev. William Willetts	(a), (b), (c), (d) Priestley. R. i., p. 39
Cornelius Philologus	ii.	Rev. Wm. Lillie, Bingley	(c)
Christianus	v.	Michael Dodson (<i>D.N.B.</i>)	(e)
UNIDENTIFIED SIGNATURES			
Auxiliator	vi.		
Dion	i., ii.		
Eucharisticus	ii.		
Inquirendo	iv.	Probably an Episcopalian clergyman, since he speaks of his "course of duty some few Sundays since," which led him to read the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles.	
Magnirroc	iv.		
Nazarenus	v.	Belsham (<i>Life of Lindsey</i> , p. 235) attributes this article (on the Maraculous Conception) to Priestley, but Priestley did not acknowledge it, nor is it attributed to him by (a), (b), (c), (d), (e). As it is prefaced with a compliment to Ebionita, one of Priestley's signatures, it is impossible to accept Belsham's statement.	
Nicodemus	v.		
Oxoniensis	i.		
Phaedo	i.		
Polyglottus	v.		
A.B.	v.		
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